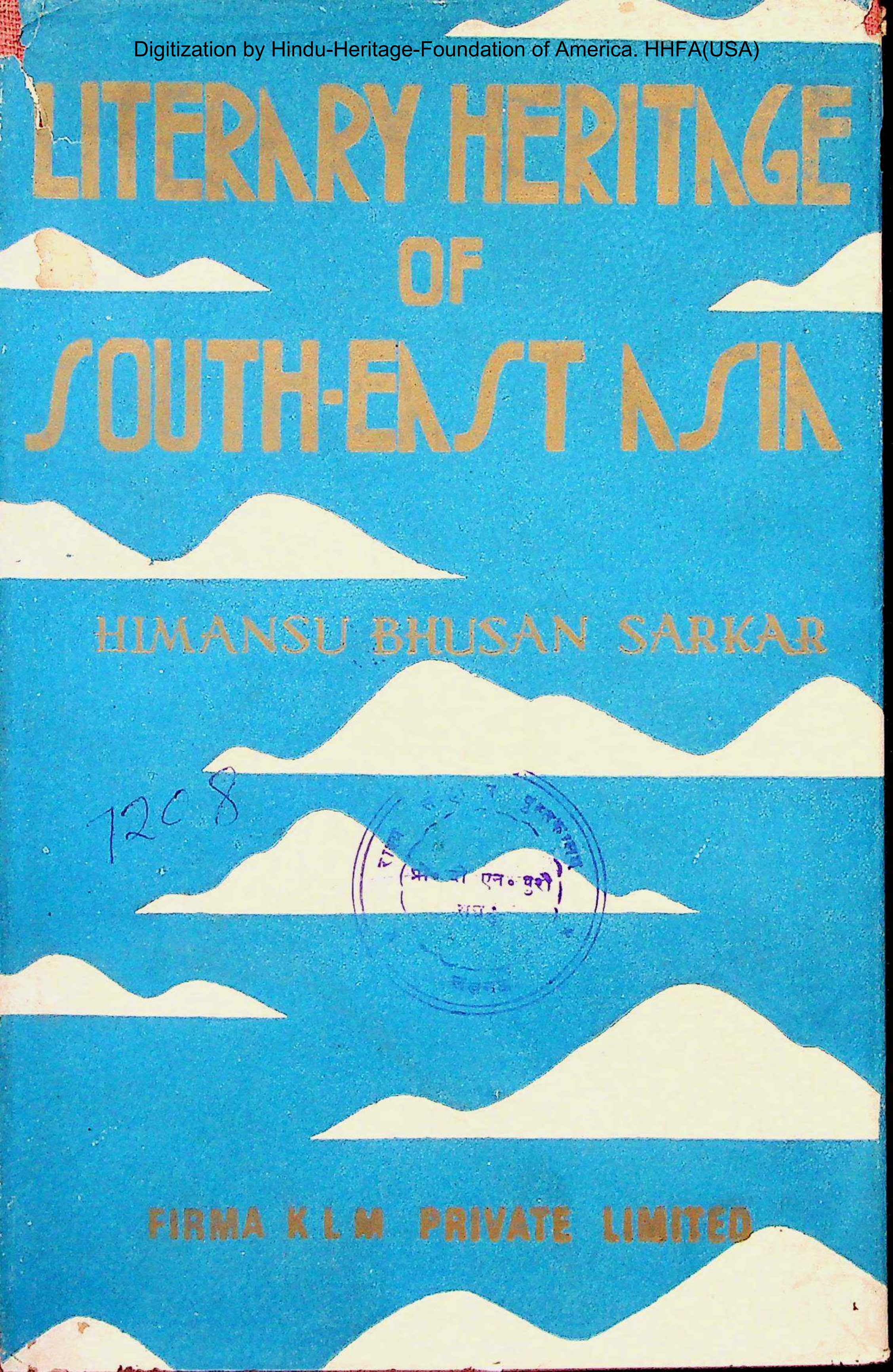

LITERARY HERITAGE OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR

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Dedicated
to
Professor Dr. R. N. Dandekar
in appreciation of his great services
in organising and popularising
oriental learning in
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INTRODUCTION

There are doubtless some admirable scholarly monographs on the ancient and medieval literature of some individual countries of South-East Asia and the adjoining island-world, such as those on Burma, Kambuja (Cambodia) or Java and Bali, but the literature of this region as a whole has not been brought, to the best of my informations, within the compass of a single volume in any European language. The aim of the present work is to remove this desidaratum as far as possible.

The first park of the text presents the political, religious and cultural framework of the story. This has been done succinctly as a sort of introduction to the second part of the text, which deals with the literature of the Indianized states of the region. In the arrangement of the topics in the second part of the text, I felt some hesitation in fixing up the priority of the countries concerned, but ultimately decided to divide the whole group in two broad divisions, one dealing with the mainland of South-East Asia, whose political history has been outlined, more or less on the basis of historical development of events. The literature of these countries has then been linked up in this nexus. The second group comprising the island part of South-East Asia also presents a distinct Indian stream from the view-point of ancient and medieval literature, but the introduction of Islam made all the differences by ushering in what we may call the Great Divide in the literary history of a large part of the Malayo-Indonesian world. The present work is thus confined to the pre-Islamic phase of Malayan and Javanese literature.

The writing of the present work has been rendered possible on account of the considerable help I have received from the works of authors mentioned in the footnotes, of which the Select Bibliography is but a small index. I have not furnished any bibliography of the Indian texts referred to in this work, firstly because these are legion and secondly they may be consulted in standard texts dealing with relevant subjects. Without the centribution of such scholars in various fields of South and South-East Asian studies during the last one hundred years or so, it would not have been possible to bring the whole range of the literature of this region, not to speak of other allied topics discussed in the text, under our survey. Even then, the present work would not have been undertaken, at this stage, due to my preoccupation in other fields, unless I was requested to contribute a chapter on the Indian Literature of Ceylon, South-East Asia, Korea and Japan for volume V of the *Cultural Heritage of India*, published by the R. K. Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta. The theme of the part dealing with South-East Asia has been considerably enlarged in scope and depth to prepare the present work.

Nobody is more conscious than I about the shortcomings of this work. As I had to undertake extensive study-tour in different parts of India and abroad in connexion with the preparation of my next work : *Trade and Commercial Activities of Southern India in the Malayo-Indonesian World*, (up to A. D. 1511), I hardly found any time to go through the proofs of this work. This has resulted in some serious mistakes, particularly in regard to the inscription of the sub-headings of the chapters concerned, but I hope both the title and contents of the chapters will serve as sure indications about the topics discussed. The printing mistakes have been shown on the Errata.

I avail of the opportunity to express my gratefulness to the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, for making a generous grant of rupees five thousand only towards the publication of this work. Mrs. Arcana Sarkar, M. A., my daughter-in-law, has rescued me from the thankless task of preparing the index, for which I must admire her patience and tenacity.

Rabindrapalli, H. B. Sarkar
Kharagpur, W. Bengal.
2. 3. 79

ERRATA

Page No.	Line from above	Line from below	Read	Instead of
5		7th	Ports	Parts
13	7th		Vikrāntavarman	Vikıānoavarman
14	7th		tune	tone
15	6th		He	The
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19		3rd line	Siṛḍok	Siṇḍik
21		3rd line	close	closed
22	8th		Stanzas	Sazuats
23	14th		Ta-kuan	Ta-kuṇa
27			Campā	Instead of Indian settlements in the Twi-light. (In sub-heading).
31	5th		the	at
57			Malay Peninsula	The kingdom of Ancient Burma (In sub-heading)
67		10th	C.778-C.856	C.778=C.856
68	7th		disintegrated	disintergrated
68			Korn	Kern, in f.n 9
68 & 69			Padaṇḍa	Pandaṇḍa
72	10th		above	about
73	2nd		monks	moks
115	4th		*Insert* : this	*before* : time
134	14th		Now, from	Now, the

Page No.	Line from above	Line from below	Read	Instead of
147	6th-7th		*delete :* Another...Chakkindābhisiri	
160	7th		was	*after* : dynasties
196	13th		genealogical	generalogical
196			65-66 (in f.n. 8)	65-666
197		8th	1964	1264
201	19th-20th		mutilated	multilated
207		6th	as	at
209		15th	Raja kapa kapa	Raja kapa kapa kapa
214		last line	explanations	expansions
215	5th		but	out
215		8th	words	works
215		last line	if	since
219		f.n. 7	add : (Bhaṭṭi)	*after :* poet
232		f.n. 7	Inleiding	Inliding

CHAPTER I

INDIAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE TWILIGHT OF HISTORY

The spread of Indian culture and civilisation in South-East Asia fulfils a task which the accident of history had placed on India. After the Aryanisation of India had made considerable progress, many people of adventurous spirit took the leading part in Aryanising the lands of South-East Asia. In this adventure, the Brāhmaṇas as well as the Kṣatriyas were at the forefront[1]. When the Indians first set their foot on the soil of South-East Asia, the indigenous people had not yet fully emerged out of the neolithicum in all places. The picture was not very much different from that obtaining in pre-Aryan India.[2] The people of this area, whose racial strands have not yet been determined by way of a consensus among scholars, spoke a babel of tongues and were fixed at various levels of neolithic culture. Fortunately the people had, by that time, settled down to a more sedentary life, which was occasionally disturbed by the southward drive of other racial groups in the historical period.

Now, this pre-Indian culture of South-East Asia could reckon, among its most developed communities, at least the following items as heritage, in which the people concerned had acheievd reasonable standard of efficiency, namely, a sort of matriarchate and social organisation possibly capable of undertaking irrigated rice-cultivation, the demarcation of ox and buffalo, rudimentary use of the metals, skill in navigation and building of shrines on hill-tops.[3] This Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian heritage was carried to adjacent islands by the

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[1] H. B. Sarkar, *Some Contributions*, 27 ff.

[2] *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India* (1929).

[3] Przyluski, *Indochine*, 54.

Austronesian people, of whom the Indonesians constitute the most important element.

Thus, at the dawn of South-East Asian history, Indian culture and civilisation, as it had developed through millenia of conflict, assimilation and evolution, faced the people and culture of South-East Asia in their native grandeur. Two dis-similar civilisations, the Indo-Aryan and the Austro-Asiatic (or, Austronesian), confronted each other in the racial and cultural melting pot of South-East Asia and the impact of India was tremendous. But India was not alone : there were two competitors in this tryst with destiny. One was China, lying like a colossus on the very border of South-East Asia, and the other was India. China with her political ambitions, very often showing a mailed fist across the frontier did not succeed, while India, with her non-military objectives and peaceful penetration, succeeded. This impact of India, while allowing the indigenous people to borrow Indian elements in a free climate of natural development, led to the establishment of Indianized communities on important points in South-East Asia, principally on the seashore and banks of big rivers.

India's contact with these countries must have been made in the pre-Christian centuries, but the contact became brisker from the beginning of the Christian era. This contact was made both by land and sea, but archaeological or inscriptional data bearing on the subject of Indian presence in South-East Asia do not crop up before the second century A. D. Burmese native tradition, as recorded in the *Tagaung Yazawin,* seems to indicate that the first country in South-East Asia to be colonised from India was Burma, where a Śākya prince named Abhirāja is said to have come in 923 B.C. to carve out a kingdom. Later on, another Śākya prince named Dhajaraja came in 523 (519) B.C. and established a royal house in Upper Burma where his descendants are said to have ruled for many centuries.[4] Unfortunately, these traditions are often confusing and can not be verified from any authentic source. The Moriyas are also traditionally associated with certain settlements in Burma and Yunnan, which latter place came to be known in Indian literature as Gandhāra, the counterpart of its namesake in the other extremity of the sub-continent. Siṃhalese, Burmese and Siamese traditions refer to the missionary activities of Sona and Uttara in Suvarṇabhūmi, which is usually identified with Lower Burma, but Le May has told us[5] that "a memory of the Land of Gold" still lingers in the Siamese town of Supanburi or Suvarṇapurī (the City of Gold) and the ancient U-T'ong (the Source of Gold). Similarly, the foundation of Ligor has been ascribed by tradition to a descendant of Aśoka.[6] Javanese tradition also states that the Brahmin Tritrests introduced his religion and calendar to Java and that his son became king there. A different tradition ascribes the introduction of alphabets and time-reckoning to a certain Aji Saka, who is also said to have come from India.[7] Old records, including inscriptional data, bearing on the history of Funan, Campā and Kambuja have also similar legends to tell. In a Sanskrit inscription of Campā dated 658 A.D. relating to the foundation of the capital of Kambuja at Bhavapura, we read, "It was there that Kauṇḍiṇya, the greatest of the Brāhmaṇas, planted the javelin which he had received from Aśvatthāma, the son of Droṇa. There was the daughter of the Nāga-king of the name of Somā who founded a royal race on this earth. The great Brahmin Kauṇḍiṇya married her for the accomplishment of the rites."[8] A rootless dynasty of Campā, founded by king

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[4] *Glass Palace Chronicle.*

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5. *A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam*, 19. Vide also Aymonier, *Le Cambodge III*, 349-50.
6. R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, 13.
7. The terms *Aji Śaka* signify "King Śaka" which is thus no specific name.
   These stories are to be found in Raffles, *History of Java II*, 66 ff.; Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 92.
8. For the discussion of these traditions. vide Pelliot in *BEFEO* II, 145 and Finot. *Sur Quelques traditions Indo-Chinoises*, 205 and Coedes, *Etudes Cambodgiennes* in *BEFEO XI* 393; B. R. Chatterjee, *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, 4-7; Coedes, *The Indianized States*, 37-38.

Indravarman II in 875 A.D., affiliated itself to Uroja,[9] but described itself in another inscription as being of the Bhṛgu-dynasty.

From all this plethora of legends and traditions, it is not easy to find out the truth. I am however inclined to believe that while the Kṣatriyas might have taken the initiative in the foundation of kingdoms in Burma, Borneo/Kalimantan and Indonesia, the Brāhmaṇas took the leading part in the foundation of Indian settlements in Malaya, Funan, Campā and Kambuja. It may be recalled in this connexion that the first and the second founders of Funan bore the name of Kauṇḍiṇya, which is the designation of a Brāhmana-clan of India, and that, according to the *History of the Liang Dynasty* (502-56 A.D.), the family-name of the king of Po-li, which is usually identified with Bali, was also the same.[10] Similarly, the progenitor of the dynasty of king Mūlavarman of Borneo/Kalimantan was also a certain Kuṇḍuṅga[11], which sounds suspiciously like that of Kauṇḍiṇya referred to above. The Kauṇḍiṇya-clan of northern India, which had settled down in the Mysore region in the second century A.D.,[12] seems thus to have played a great role in the colonising activities in South-East Asia.

Now, to many people, the crossing of the seas by the Brāhmaṇas would appear to have been a sacrilege and Baudhāyana prescribes a penance of three years.[13] It seems however that penances for such sea-voyages were not so rigorously enforced in northern India, though this was believed to have brought contamination for people of South Indian origin. Coedes believed that this injunction against crossing the sea has been rather exaggerated, and documents bearing on the presence of numerous Brāhmaṇas in South-East Asia and the motivation ascribed to them in the Chinese annals would indicate the correctness of the views of Coedes.[14]

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[9] Regarding the circumstances of his accession to the throne, vide Coedes, *The Indianized States*, 123 ; *BEFEO* XXVIII, 58.

[10] Groeneveldt, *Notes*, 80 ff. and Schlegel in *T'oung Pao*, 1901, 329 ff. and Pelliot in *BEFEO* IV, 283 ff.

[11] Vogel in *BKI* 74 (1918), 167-232 ; Chhabra in *JGIS* (1945), 14-17.

[12] B. R. Chatterjee, *Op. Cit.*, 261-62.

[13] I,1,II,4 ; vide also Manu III, 158.

In this way, the Brahmin scholars and priests, Kṣatriya adventurers, Buddhist missionaries, traders, artisans and others started for the Far East from different points of India. In this work of Indianization which necessarily covered many centuries and was rarely a co-ordinated one, the ports lying on the Bay of Bengal played a great role in the first two centuries of the Christian era.

Among these ports, the oldest one was Tāmralipti, which figures from the days of the *Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa*, perhaps to be dated in the 8th or 7th century B.C.,[15] but it is difficult to decide if, at that time, it had gained greater distinction as a port or as an important village. It figures prominently in the *Jātakas*, which refer to stories about merchants from Campā, Vārāṇasī, Kauśāmbī, etc., sailing for overseas trade or other purposes through the port of Tāmralipti.[16] It has also been prominently referred to in the Siṃhalese Chronicles, classical writers and the Chinese annals, i.e., from the Maurya period onwards. In the pre-Christian centuries, particularly in the second century B.C., the port developed trade and other connexions with the countries of S. E. Asia.[17] Some scholars also believe that some of the parts on the western coast of India might have also contact with some parts of South-East Asia, but the route by which this contact is supposed to have been maintained needs further probe. Apart from Tāmralipti, which came in touch with China during the reign of Wu-ti (140-87 B.C.), through the Bay of Bengal and the South China seas,[18] other ports on the Bay of Bengal were also

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14. Coedes, *op. cit.*, 269 f.n. 27 and 274 f.n. 101 ; *Mṛgendrāgama*, Publ. de l'Institut Francais d'Indologie, (23), 76.
15. H. B. Sarkar in *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture I*, 220.
16. *Ibid*, 225 ff.
17. Wang Gungwu, *The Nanhai Trade* (in *JMBRAS* XXXI, 1958, pt. II, no. 182), 15 ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 231 ff.
18. This statement is based on the assumption that Huang-Chih is no other than the river Ganges. The reference occurs in the *Ch'ien Han*

coming to the fore in course of the second half of the first century A.D. Contemporary or near-contemporary data leave the impression that goods coming through the Gangetic port were received or bartered for in the Malayan ports by Yueh or other ships for despatch to other countries of South-East Asia and China. The fiirst port of call for Indian sailors in the Malay Peninsula was the port of Takkola, where the merchants got down to escape the depredations of the pirates in the Malaccan straits. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (second half of the first century A.D.) and the Geography of Ptolemy[19] refer to some ports on the western coast of the Bay of Bengal.

In the second century A.D., Paloura enters on the maritime chart of India in a big way, because Ptolemy refers to the apheterium to the South of Paloura, where the ships sailing for the Malay Peninsula "ceased to follow the littoral and entered the high seas."[20] This Paloura has been identified by S. Levi with Dantapura which lay near mod. Chicacole.[21] Among other busy ports, reference has been made to Puhar or Kāverīpaṭṭinam,[22] Kolapaṭṭana,[23] Poduke[24] and Sopatma,[25] wherefrom large

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Shu chap 28, pt. 2, f. 32, recto and verso. Text and translation may be seen in Wheatley, *Golden Khersonese*, 8-9.

[19] Bagrow has pointed out in the *Geographiska Annaler* (Stockholm), XXVI (1945) 318-87 that Ptolemy's *Geography*, in its present form, was probably compiled by a rather unknown Byzantine author who flourished in the 10th or 11th century A.D. He based his work on principles enunciated by Ptolemy, whose original writings might have been incorporated, in parts, into this work. The extant MS-maps were not drawn until towards the end of the 13th century.

[20] *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (McCrindle), 66, 69,

[21] Vide *JA* 206 (1924), 46-57.

[22] The Khabari of Ptolemy. Regarding its brisk activity in the Sangam Age, vide K. A. Nilkanta Sastri, *The Colas*, 2nd edn., 96.

[23] The name of Kolapaṭṭana occurs in the *Milindapanha*. It corresponds to the Coromandel coast.

[24] Usually identified with Pondicherry. Excavation undertaken by G. Jouveau-Dubreil (Padouke-Pondicherry, *Le Semur*, no. 10, 1938) and Wheeler, *Ancient India*, no. 2 (1946).

[25] Not yet satisfactorily identified. R. C. Majumdar has identified it (*Classical Accounts of India*, 312) with Markanam.

ships called *Colandia* set sail for the Ganges and Chryse. Apart from Tāmralipti, the other port figuring prominently in later times in connexion with trade with the Far East is Negapatam. Although Bharukacoha (mod. Broach), Śūrpāraka (mod. Sopara) and Muciri (mod. Cranganore) principally traded with countries on the Arabian Sea, they are also believed to have been in touch with the Golden Khersonese.

In South-East Asia, important ports in western Malaya were located at Takkola,[26] Takua Pa,[27] Katāha (perhaps Kaḍāram of Tamil writers)[28] and Kalah.[29] Transhipment of goods and passengers took place at the emporium of Takkola and the caravan then moved towards the eastern coast where lay the emporia of Tun-Sun and Chu-li.[30] Chu-li lay to the South of the former.

On the eastern coast of Sumatra, there lay possibly the port of Ko-ying.[31] The emporium of Oc Eo in Cochin-China, which has yielded archaeological relics, mainly from the second century A.D ,[32] and Kattigara of Ptolemy, indicate the range of Indian and western interest in the early centuries of the Christian era. In later times, other important ports developed, such as Chiao-Chih i. e. Hanoi, Mo-lo-yu (Jambi), Palembang, etc. All these important ports were located on the sea-coast or not far from it.

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[26] Mentioned by Ptolemy, the *Niddesa*, the *Milindauanha* and Rājendra Cola's inscriptions. For discussion, vide Wheatley, *op. cit.*, 268-72.

[27] Some scholars believe Takkola and Takua Pa to be identical.

[28] Vide Act V, *Kaumudī Mahotsava*. For a discussion on its location, vide Wheatley, op. cit., 42 ff., 278 ff., with literature cited therein.

[29] The exact location is hard to determine, but there is hardly any doubt that it lay on the western coast of Malaya. Vide Wheatley, *op. cit.*, 222.

[30] Vide Wheatley in *JMBRAS* XXVIII (1955), 1 ff.

[31] Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, 53 ff.

[32] The excavations at this place yielded Indian objects like intaglios and Sanskrit inscriptions. Vide Malleret, *L'Archeologie du delta du Mekong* (1959-63) III, 115 ; Coedes, Fouilles en Cochinchine le site de Go Oc Eo, in *AA* X (1947), 193-99.

The land-routes for the establishments of new settlements in the Far East refer, among others, to the famous Tsang-k'o route[33] passing through Assam and North Burma to Yunnan, as well as three other important routes from East India to Burma, whence one could proceed up to Tongking.[34] Travellers or migrants going to the Far East sometimes preferred to disembark at Tavoy down the Gulf of Martaban and push along the Imperial Trade Route which ran parallel to the river Mun, leaving behind the wayside towns of Lopburi and Srideva, and then proceed along the lower course of the Mekong, until it met the sea in the neighbourhood of modern Trang, South of Saigon. All these land and sea-routes helped to disseminate Indian culture to the lands of South-East Asia and the Far East and the people thereof became familiar with Indian goods and commodities.

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[33] Liebenthal in *JGIS* XV (1956), 1 ff.

[34] P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, 17, 44.

CHAPTER II

FUNAN AND KAMBUJA

I

The land and sea-routes discussed in the previous chapter led to the growth of a number of Indian settlements in South-East Asia. Many of these places bore Indian geographical names, such as Campā, Ayodhyā, Kāñcī, Nairañjanā, Bhanarasi (Vārāṇasī), Kaliṅga, Candrabhāgā, Sarayu, etc. The settlements became, in course of time, something like miniature-India. Leaving aside the traditional history of Burma about the settlement of Śākya and other clans in Burma, the earliest Indianized communities are to be found in the eastern extremity of South-East Asia, where the earliest inscription, that of Vo-cañh, has been found. This would appear not a little surprising, because, it is illogical to think that the Indians would jump over almost a continent to establish their first settlements and then cover up the gap long afterwards. Chinese evidence seems to indicate that the process of Indianiaztion was quite a methodical one, as the history of Lengkasuka, a state in the Malay Peninsula, reverts, according to the Chinese evidence to the first century A.D. The implication of this evidence is that, with the progress of research on Burma's ancient history and archaeology, newer evidence may crop up to push its history to pre-christian centuries. Be that as it may, as matters stand now, we have to proceed with the story of Funan, as the discovery of the earliest inscription in this region leads us inevitably to this place.

Since the days of Kauṇḍiṇya I and Somā, who established the first Hinduized state in Funan in the first century A.D., the infiltration of Indian culture was proceeding apace, though rather slowly, because as late as the third century A.D., the Chinese evidence represents the men-folk as naked, though women covered themselves up somehow. The country was, however, advancing slowly on the path of civilisation. Chinese annals of the Tsin dynasty (265-914 A.D.) report that the country of Funan had books, archives and alphabets. After the reign of Chan-t'an (i.e., Candana), supposed to be a disinherited Kuṣāṇa prince (357 A.D.), we find a great spurt in the indianization of several tracts of South-East Asia. Kauṇḍiṇya II, another Brāhmaṇa from India, perhaps belonging to the same clan as Kauṇḍiṇya I, went from Pan-Pan in Malaya to Funan and became its king. It was he who changed all the laws of Funan to conform to those of India. His successors Shih-li-t'o-pa-ma (Śrī Indravarman or Śreṣṭhavarman) and She-yeh-pa-ma (Jayāvarman) who ruled in Funan in the 5th century A.D. greatly promoted Indian culture in Funan, particularly in the domain of religion. Indian customs are reflected in the details furnished about contemporary Funan in the *History of the southern Ch'i* (c. 480 A.D.), particularly in regard to religion and the administration of justice. Now, regarding religion, the text informs us that, during the reign of king Jayavarman (c. 475-514 A.D.), the custom of the country was to worship God Maheśvara (Śiva) who continually descended on Mount Mo-tan. Perhaps this refers to a Śiva-liṅga installed on the sacred mountain of Funan. Slavery, not necessarily of Indian stamp, existed, and ordeal was in vogue. About ordeal, we read : "In case of dispute, they throw gold rings and eggs into boiling water ; these must be pulled out. Or else, they heat a chain red-hot ; this must be carried in the hands seven steps. The hands of the guilty are completely scorched ; the innocent are not hurt. Or else, the accused are made to jump into the water. The one who is right enters the water, but does not sink ; the one who is in error sinks."[1] A later text, namely, *History of the Liang Dynasty* (502-556 A.D.) informs us further that the people of Funan make bronze images of the sky spirits ; those that have two faces have four arms,[2] those who have four faces have eight arms. At the time of mourning, the people cut off the beard and the hair. The king sits in a pose which we call Mahārājalīlā in iconography.

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[1] Pelliot, *Le Founan*, 260-62. English translation by Cowing. It may be compared with the laws of Manu VIII, 114-16, where ordeals by fire and water have also been prescribed.

[2] Coedes thinks that this refers to the image of Hari-Hara i.e. Viṣṇu and Śiva united into one body.

Jayavarman, the Great king of Funan, died in 514. His first queen Kulaprabhāvatī and one of his sons called Guṇavarman have left Sanskrit epigraphs which have been found at different places.[3] The inscriptions breathe a Viṣṇuite tone. The queen's inscription refers to her desire to retire from the world and build a hermitage with a dwelling and an artificial lake.[4] The inscription of Guṇavarman, has described the prince as "the Moon of the Kauṇḍinya-race", who established a sanctuary called Cakratīrthasvāmin with foot-print of Viṣṇu. It seems that this prince was murdered by his elder brother who was called, namely, Rudravarman who sent embassies to China between 517 and 539 A. D. Rudravarman was, however, the last king of Funan. He was greatly attracted towards Buddhism. Political reasons, besides others, ultimately provoked the neighbouring Śaiva king of Chen-la named Citrasena to get rid of the fratricidal king and annex the kingdom.

Although Hinduism was the dominant religion in Funan, the Buddhists also constituted an important community. Worship of Śiva-liṅga, Viṣṇu and sky-spirits have been referred to in contemporary records. Regarding Buddhism, it may be recalled that the Indian monk Nāgasena, who reached Funan by the overland route from India, was sent by king Jayavarman of Funan in 484 A. D. to China at the invitation of the Chinese emperor. He went there with some priests. At the beginning of the 6th century A. D., the reputation of Funan as a centre of Buddhist learning had grown so much that a Chinese mission visited Funan between 535 and 545 to collect Buddhist texts.

Relics of art and architecture from ancient Funan are only meagre in number, but it had an Indianesque School, which may be said to have reached its apogee in the creation of a superb figure of Lokeśvara.[5] The cylindrical head-dress of Indra, perhaps borrowed from Malaya or direct from southern India gradually assumed a characteristics of its own. The discovery of images of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa and some Buddhist images in Gupta style found at Angkor Borei, the last capital of Funan, indicates also influences from the art-traditions of northern India. Coedes has invited our attention to images with two faces and four arms, referred to earlier, which doubtless refer to the image of Hari-Hara i.e. Viṣṇu and Śiva united in a single body. The statuary art of ancient Funan had thus created images belonging both to the Hindu and the Buddhist pantheon, thus confirming our impression derived from epigraphic and literary sources.

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[3] Codes in *JGIS* IV (1937), 117-21 and R. C. Majumder, *IK*, no. 1 & 2.

[4] R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit*.

II

Kambuja, the successor State of Funan had, however, a separate existence as a vassal state of Funan. It had also a distinct genealogical tradition going back to the sage Kambu Svāyambhuva and his consort, the heavenly nymph Merā.[6] The tradition seems to have been invented to explain the name of Kambuja and the Khmer people. Be that as it may the legend-laid the matrix of the Solar dynasty of Kambuja and the country came to be known, after them, Kambujadeśa. The intermarriage of the royal dynasties of Funan and Kambuja ultimately united the Solar and the Lunar dynasties.

Citrasena who had conquered Funan ascended on the throne of Chen-la after the death of his brother Bhavavarman. The Chinese have always described kingdom of Kambuja by the name of Chen-la, but there is no explanation for this name. Citrasena who assumed the cornation-name of Mahendravarman ruled at least up to 615 and was then followed by his son Īśānavarman who completed the conquest of Funan, making the kingdom almost of the same extent as it has today.[7] Īśānavarman maintained close relationship with the royal house of Campā. His daughter Śarvāṇī married a Cām prince and their son ascended on the throne of Campā in 653 with the coronation-name of Vikrānoavarman. Īśānavarman was succeeded by Bhavavarman II and then by Jayavarman I (c. 657-81), after whose reign there ensued a period of anarchy. The country became divided into two parts, which the Chinese describe as Land Chen-la and Water Chen-la.

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[5] Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig. 332.

[6] R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit*.

This anarchy in Kambuja enabled Java to establish some sort of hegemony over Kambuja. The country was saved from this tutelage by Jayavarman II (802-50) who returned from his self-imposed exile in Java. An inscription[8] tells us that he invited the Brahmin Hiraṇyadāṃa, who had come from Janapada (perhaps India) and was versed in the science of magic to arrange for a ritual, so that Kambujadeśa might no longer be dependent on Java. This done, he taught Śivakaivalya the rituals and the sacred texts. His majesty Parameśvara and the Brahmin Hiraṇyadāma vowed to employ only the members of the family of Śivakaivalya and no other to celebrate the cult. The God resided in all the capitals where the king and his successors took Him as protector of the realm.

This Deva-rāja cult, obviously a Śaiva Tāntrik one, had some common features with the Bhadresvara-cult of Campā and the liṅga-cult of king Sañjaya of Central Java. In this cult, the king appears on earth as the embodiment of Śiva and the essence of his royal power is the liṅga-emblem. The Brāhmaṇa who is the mediator receives this Ur-liṅga from Śiva and gives it to the founder of the dynasty.[9]

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[7] Coedes, *The Making of South-East Asia*, 91.

[8] *BEFEO XV* (2), 53 and R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 152 ; Aymonier. *Le Cambodge II*, 250.

[9] Vide in this connexion, Coedes in *BCAI* (1911), 42 ; Bosch in *TBG* LXIV (1925), 236 ff , 271. ff., ; H. B. Sarkar, *Some contributions*, 175-76.

The Devarāja-liṅga henceforward marks the centre of successive royal capitals, which were, so to say, the pivot of the universe. Thus we see the Bakong at Hariharālaya (Roluos), the Bakheng in the first city of Angkor, the great pyramid at Koh Ker, the Phimeanakas and the Baphuon.[10] I refer to the reign of Jayavarman in some details, because he not only founded the kingdom of Angkor but also set the tone of its future development.

In later times, when the kings adopted the Buddhist faith, the idea of God-king was similariy adapted to suit the change of religion. Javavarman VII, for instance, began to venerate, instead of the gold-liṅga of previous reigns, massive stone image of Buddharāja enshrined in a central sanctuary representing the features of the apotheosised founder of the temple in the holy of holies, as also in the outer parts of the towers in the shape of Bodhisattva Lokeśvara Samantamukha "who has faces in all directions" and these are smiling—the famous Angkor smile.

The next great ruler of Kambuja was Indravarman I who ascended the throne in 877. The spritual mentor of the king was the Brahmin Śivasoma who was a disciple of Bhagavat Śaṅkara, who is usually believed to be no other than the famous philosopher Śaṅkarācārya of India.[11] The king continued the process of deification to a greater extent than before. In 879, he dedicated six brick towers in stucco at Preath Ko to house the statues of his parents, maternal grand parents and some others. In 881, he constructed a terraced pyramid in stone to install the royal liṅga under the designation of Indreśvara, thus linking his name with the deity. Of other rulers of the Angkor period, the most outstanding ones were Yaśovarman I (889—900) and Suryavarman II (1113-1145), who mightily contrlbuted not only to the outward grandeur of Kambuja, but also to the enrichment of its social, religious and cultural life.

The activities of Yaśevarman I in the sphere of religion are better known than his other achievements. He established about a hundred *aśramas* or monasteries in different parts of his kingdom under the name of Yaśodharāśrama and set out rules called *Śāsanas* for their governance.[12] The inscriptions described appropriately by Bergaigne as "stone-posters" give us details about his religious endowments, etc, of his reign and are incised in the pre-Nāgarī script of eastern India. The shlfted his capital to Yaśodharapura,[13] which has been identified by Goloubew with a vast quadrangle marked by the central part of the Phnom Bakheng hill, with the river Siem Riep on its eastern side.[14] The Liṅga of Devarāja, as palladium of the dynasty, was also shifted to the new capital. To the North-East of the capital, the king built an immense lake called the Yaśodharataṭāka, about seven kilometers long and 1800 meters wide. The king was tolerant in his religious views and distributed his favours not only among the Śaivites, the Pāśupatas and the Tapasvins (mendicant friars) under the fold of the Śivaite Brāhmaṇāśrama, but also among the Pāñcarātras, the Bhāgavatas and the Sāttvatas of the Viṣṇuite Vaiṣṇavāśrama.[15] There were also Buddhist āśramas.

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[10] Coedes in Conferenze, Serie Oriental, Roma V (1952), 1-23.

[11] Coedes. *The Indianized States*. 111.

After the reign of Yaśovarman who received, after his death, the posthumous title of Paramaśivaloka, his son Harṣavarman I ruled between 900 and 922. Then there set in a period of political instability which was not substantially relieved till we come to the reign of Rājendravarman, who again made Yaśodharapura his capital and brought therein the Devarāja.[16] He built in 952 the temple of Eastern Mebon at the centre of the Yaśodharaṭatāka and installed therein the statues of his parents in the form of Śiva and Umā, those of Viṣṇu and

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12. Coedes in BEFEO XXXII, 84 ff. ; R. C. Majumdar *op. cit.*, 74 ff., 82ff.
13. Finot in *L'Inscription de Sdok Kak Thom*, p. 80 ; Coedes and Dupont, *Les steles de Sdok Kak Thom*, 113.
14. Vide *BEFEO* XXXIII, 319 and *Ibid* XXXIV, 576.
15. For a study of thc Brāhmaṇicāl cults of Cambodge, Vide K. Bhattacharya, *Les religions brahmaniques dans l'ancien Cambodge* (Publ. EFEO, XLIX), 1961.
16. Finot, *L'Inscription de Sdok Kak Thom*, 91.

Brahmā, allotting the place of honour to liṅga Rājendreśvara in the centre. When the temple mountain of Pre Rup was contemplated, he installed therein the liṅga Rājendrabhadreśvara as also images of Śiva Rājendravarmadeveśvara and Viṣṇu Rājendraviśvarūpa and others in memory of his ancestors and relatives.[17] Coedes has stated that due to the young age of the king, the Brahmin officials of the court made the king to undertake massive religious constructions for various deities. Images of Buddha, Vajrapāṇi and Prajñā were also housed in the three towers of the monument of Bat Chum. The king earned on his death the posthumous name of Śivaloka.

His son Jayavarman V was still studying under Vraḥ Gnru[18] when he was called upon to assume the charge of the kingdom in 968. The king gave his sister Indralakṣmī in marriage to the Brahmin Divākarabhaṭṭa who was born in India on the banks of the Yamunā and who initiated the construction of several Saiva monuments. Two other "foreign Brāhmaṇas, obviously of Indian origin, are also found buying estates to establish Śaiva temples thereon.[19] Yogācāra and worship of Bodhisattva Lokeśvara also continued to flourish in Kambuja.[20]

In the 10th century, the Angkorean civilisation took a definite shape. The ruling sovereigns became identified with God, both in life and death, and the royal essence of kingship, in the form of a royal liṅga, was installed in the temple mountain, which, like Meru, represented the centre of the universe. The hereditary priestly families, which provided the chaplains and preceptors for the royal family, often married in the royal families, whose status from the view-point of Indian laws, was somewhat anomalous, because, while the royal families of Kambuja and Funan traced their descent from Kauṇḍiṇya/Kambu, of the Brahmin clan, they claimed also to have belonged to the Solar and the Lunar dynasties, respectively, or, in other words, the Kṣatriya clans. Such kings might better be termed as Brahma-Kṣatriyas, as some of the Kambujan inscriptions also attest. Inter-caste marriages between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas were frequent, and in the priestly families, the normal heir seems to have been the son of the sister, which underlines the importance of the female line, as in Southern India.

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[17] Coedes, *IC, I.* 73 ff·

[18] *Ibid II,* 65.

[19] Finot. *op. cit.,* 94.

[20] Finot in *EA I,* 227.

In the 9th and 10th centuries, Śaivism enjoyed a dominant position until it was challenged by Viṣṇuism in the 12th century, as symbolised in the monument of Angkor Vat. Buddhism also flourished, particularly during the reigns of Sūryavarman I and Jayavarman VII. The images, which were installed in many temples represented the physical features of king with attributes of divinities, as happened in Java and also Thailand. Coedes has designated this as "personal cult"[21]. Sanctuaries, monasteries and hermitages must have been innumerable and hapless slaves were pressed into the service for their up-keep.

Political instability ensued after the death of Jayavarman V in 1001. King Sūryavarman I who was installed on the throne around 1010, but has seized power earlier still, extended the authority of the Khmer empire. In religious matters, he had leanings towards Buddhism, though other sects did not suffer for this. On his death in 1050, he got the epithet of Nirvāṇapada, an appropriate recognition for his Buddhist proclivities. That this measure of broad toleration existed throughout the Khmer empire, including a part of Thailand then under Khmer occupation is also proved by the inscription of 1022-25 which tells us that Bhikṣu-mahāyāna, sthaviras as well as Brāhmaṇas practising Yoga lived side by side at Lavo (Lopburi), but the predominance of the Buddhist establishments at that place indicates that they lost none of the importance attached to them in the kingdom of Dvāravatī.[22] Regarding Hindu establishments during the reign of king Sūryavarman I, we are told in the inscription of Sdok kak Thom,[23] that "during his reign, the members of the family of priests of the Devarāja officiated as before". A nephew of the great priest Śivācārya, Sadāśiva by name, was picked out by the king for marriage with one of the sisters-in-law of the king and he raised him to the high status of Kamsteng Śrī Jayendrapaṇḍita, whose talent shone in all brilliance in the following reign. The yongman started his official career by restoring the structures destroyed earlier.[24]

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[21] Coedes, *Pour mieux comprendre Angkor*, 44-67.

[22] Coedes, *Recueil II* p. 10.

[23] BEFEO XV, 2, 91 ; Coedes and Dupont, *Les steles de Sdok Kak Thom*, 121.

During Sūryavarman's reign, the Phimeanakas, particularly its vaulted gallery, Ta Kee and the Gopura (entrance-pavilion) of the royal palace were completed. The famous Brāhmaṇa scholars of the time, whose names are recorded in contemporary inscriptions, were associated with the construction of other notable buildings, such as the temple of Phnom Chiser, parts of Preah Vihear and of Preah Khan of Kompong Svay and the monuments of Vat Ek and of Baset near Battambang.[25] Peninsular politics also brought him in touch with South India. The menacing attitude of the Śrīvijayan monarch of Kaṭāha, namely Māravijayettuṅgavarman, prompted him to secure the friendship of Rājendra Cola I, whom he presented, in about 1012, with a chariot.[26]

The traditional Angkor civilisation which flourished between c.800 and 1150 A.D. and covered several important reigns, played an important role in the cultural development of the region and exercised great influence on that of the T'ais of the Mekong and the Menam.[27] The picture emerging about this early Angkor civilisation leaves the impression of a highly Indianized society, in which the kingship was deified and the royal residence, just like the kaḍatuan of ancient Java, represented the centre of the cosmos, by morked temple-mountain, where royal essence was symbolised by the royl liṅga, a sort of palladium of the dynasty protected by the Brahmins. The cult of divine kingship and ancestor-worship went hand-in-hand and most of the temples of Cambodia were consecrated to them.

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[24] Coedes and Dupont, *op. cit.*

[25] Coedes, *The Ind anized States,* 136 with references cited therein.

[26] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1949-50, 4.

[27] Cf. Coedes, *The Making of South-East Asia*, 102.

Architechture and statuary art gradually broke away from the Indian traditions which were maximum in the 7th century, but they retained some vestiges of the earlier traditions, such as the lateral movement of the hip and the pattern of decoration of the earlier days.

Sūryavarman I was succeeded by Udayādityavarman II (1050-66) who installed the royal liṅga at Baphuon, at the centre of the capital, which approximately covered the same area as the present Angkor Thom. In the following reigns of Harṣavarman III (1066-80), Jayavarman VI (1088-1107), and Dharaṇīndravarman (1107-1112), the central authority became weak and the priest Divākarapaṇḍita virtually became a king-maker, who was still alive to legitimatise the coup de force of Sūryavarman II at his coronation which took place in 1113.[28] His reign was a very important one from many points of view. He was moreover a great conquerer and extended his dominion in all directions.[29]

He built many temples, of which the most outstanding was the temple of Angkor, which was constructed during the lifetime of the king, to be his funerary temple.[30] The God-king was no longer represented by a liṅga, but was here apotheosided in the form of Viṣṇu under the posthumous designation of Paramaviṣṇuloka. It may not be without significance that many of the kings of Java of almost the same period, such as Siṇḍik[31], Airlangga,[32] Jayabhaya,[33] etc., were also votaries of Viṣṇu. Coedes has pointed out[34] that this attachment to Viṣṇuism "manifested itself less in the building of temples dedicated to Viṣṇu than in the decoration of edifices inspired for the most part by the legendary cycle of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa"[35].

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[28] Coedes, *Nouvelles donnees chronologiques*, 303-4.

[29] Details, with references, are to be found in Coedes, *The Indianized States*, 159 ff.

[30] *BEFEO XI*, 339 ff., with literature cited therein.

[31] *OJO XLII*.

[32] *Ibid*, LXII.

[33] *Ibid*, LXVIII

[34] *The Indianized States*, 162.

The magnificent creation of Khmer art, Angkor Vat, is a saga in stone.[36] Here everything is cenceived on a grand scale. It faces the western road leading to the eastern gate of Angkor Thom about a mile off. The moat surrounding the temple-complex is 700 ft. in width ; it is connected with the outside by causeways bordered with magnificent Nāga railings.[37] The facade of the temple is about 787 ft. long, the whole temple being surrounded by a columned gallery open on its outer face. The decoration of this vast ensemble is a feast to the eyes, particularly in the sumptuous bas-reliefs of the outer galleries which cover more than 7000 sq. ft. The eyes do not however get rest in seeing almost endless scenes depicted from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas. The figures are lively enough, but repetition of figures particularly in low relief, sometimes creates a climate of monotony. The charm of Khmer womanhood is reflected in the beautiful figures of the apsaras or heavenly nymphs, with jewelleries on their bodies. Zimmer has stated[38] that the forms "betray no trace of those ancient patterns of the Indian mainland on which they were ultimately, though remotely, founded."

Sūryavarman II, was followed on the throne by his cousin Dharaṇīndravarman II, whose death put Yaśovarman II on the throne. But a period of political instability ensued due to personal ambitions of other princes. This was not relieved till Jayavarman VII (1181-c.1218) became the king of Kambuja. After the death of the queen the king married the deceased queen's sister, the accomplished lady Indradevī. The king was an adherent of Mahāyāna Buddhism, but he continued to patronise the Hindu religion. An inscription of Angkor Thom, refers to Hṛṣikeśa of the Bharadvāja-gotra, who was

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35. Regarding the ornamental sculptures and bas-reliefs, vide *Memoires archeologiques II* : *Le temple d'Angkor Vat* (EFEO publ., 1929-32).
36. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, pls. 531-533, a and b.
37. *Ibid*, 534.
38. *Ibid*, pl. 151.

extremely well-versed in the vedic scriptures and was appointed the king's principal priest with the title of Jayamahāpradhāna. Scholars have assigned the construction and, in some cases, the completion of many structures to this reign. The principal ones refer to Angkor Thom, Bayon, Banteay Kdei, Ta Prohm, Banteay Ch'mar, Vat Nokor, etc., almost all decorated with huge human faces,[39] which peculiarity is believed by some to owe its origin to India, as noticed by I-tsing at Nālandā. The style of art connected with the reign of Jayavarman VII has been designated the Bayon style after the name of the most important building he constructed. It marks a departure from the earlier style in the sense that its inspiration is Buddhist. Coedes[40] has observed that "he (i.e. Sūryavarman II) adapted the cult of the God-king to the Buddhist faith which he professed and he also associated the secular funerary cult with the worship of the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara, which he particularly venerated, this being facilitated by the rites of apotheosis connected with the worship of the Bodhisattva." We therefore, find, in stead of the gold Devarāja liṅga of the preceding reigns, massive stone image of Buddharāja, enshrined in a central sanctuary, representing the features of the apotheosised founder of the temple in the holy of holies, as also on the outer parts of the towers in the shape of Bodhisattva Lokesvara Samantamukha, who has faces in all directions,—and these are smiling. According to Boisselier,[41] these faces refer to those of Vajradhara in the form of Vajrapāṇi, which is assumed by Lokeśvara while teaching the Law. It has to be noted however that this this Lokeśvara had the features of Śiva-Giriśa, as for instance, at Angkor Thom. In at least one case, we find fusion so complete that a Trinity is composed of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Buddha, and the whole is dedicated to Śiva. The facial expressions have, according to Coedes, closed affinity with the statuary art of Dvāravatī, particularly in the treatment of their half-closed eyes and smiling lips.

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[39] For description, vide Aymonier, *Le Cambodge III.*

[40] *The Making of South-East Asia*, 108-9

[41] *Vajrapāṇi dans l' art du Bayon*, in Actes XXII. Congress ? Inter—

The last great ruler of Kambuja was Jayavarman VII (1181-c. 1218). The huge perogramme of building temples, rest houses[42], hospitals[43] (of which more than 30 have been identified) and military activities must have strained the resources of Kambuja, already exhausted by the wars and building spree of Sūryavarman II. The magnitude of the effort can be ascertained from the details furnished in the Ta Prohm inscription,[44] from which we quote certain portions. Sazuats 61-80 describe the gift of the king and landlords, and these include, among others 3,140 villages. It says further, "Three are here 12,640 persons in all who have right to live (in the precincts of the temple). 66,625 men and women serve the gods. The total comes to 79,365 persons including the Burmese and the Campā (prisoners)". We learn further from stanza 82 that 970 scholars also lived with their teachers numbering 439. For decoration of buildings and for sacred utensils huge quantities of gold, silver, diamonds, pearls, etc., were used. In stauza 117, the inscription tells us, "There are 120 ārogyaśālās (i.e. hospitals) in different provinces and 798 shrines are established there (i.e. in the kingdom). For the use of the invalids and for those living in the temple-precincts, 117, 200 *khārikās*[45] of rice are to be given every year." In a dwindling economy sustained by slave-labour the ground was thus prepared for the eventual decline of the kingdom, notwithstanding its outwards brilliance.

The *āśrama*-regulations also define the precedence of visitors to the *āśrama*. Thus we read in one place,[46] "Then (after the king), the Brāhmaṇa should be honoured above all others ; if there are many, their qualities and their learning should be taken into consideration (to settle the question of precedence). The royal prince, the minister, the commander of the army, and good (or eminent) people should be honoured with great care according to the order given here......Next to the Brāhmaṇas are to

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42. Coedes in *BEFEO XL*, 347.
43. Coedes, *La stele de Ta Prohm*, 80
44. *BEFEO VI*, 44 ff ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 177.
45. 1 khārikā=128 seers (1 seer—0.39 kilogram).
46. *ISCC*, 421.

be honoured a Śaiva ācārya and Pāśupata ācārya ; if one of them is learned in grammar, he is to be honoured above the other. The ācārya who is the most learned among the scholars of Śaiva and Pāśupata doctrines and of grammar, that professor is to receive the highest honours in this great *āśrama.*"

The Buddhist fervour of the reigns of Dharaṇīndravarman, Jayavarman VII and their relatives was later on violently choked by the restoration of orthodox Śaivism, which was responsible for the effacement of innumerable bas-relief images of Buddha made during this era. Coedes thinks that the responsibility for a part of this vandalism is to be attributed to king Jayavarman VIII.

We get a glimpse into some aspects of the society of Kambuja from the writing of Chou Ta-kuna,[47] a Chinese envoy who visited Kambuja in 1295. He noticed there three religious sects which comprised (1) the Pan-k'i a class identified with the Brāhmaṇas "who are dressed like other people except for a string of white thread worn round the neck," (2) the Chu-ku or the Buddhist monks who "shave their heads, put on yellow garments, keep the right shoulder bare, fasten a skirt of material around the lower part of the body, go barefoot," who recite numerous texts on palm leaves, and (3) the Pa-ssu-wei (Pāśupatas ?) i.e. ascetics who worship the liṅga. In Java also, similar distinction between the Brāhmaṇas and the ascetics existed at least from the days of king Airlangga.[48] Chau Ta-kuar also mentions a "feast of lights" which Coedes thought[49] to be connected with the feast of the dead. India also celebrates a feast of lights in the darkest night of autumn ; perhaps this is also basically connected with the feast of the dead.

In 1307, king Śrīndravarman, who was ruling over Kambuja at the time of Chau Ta-kuan's visit abdicated in favour of

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[47] Remusat, *Nouvelles annales des voyages III*, reprinted in *Nouveaux Melanges Asiatiques I*, 100-52 ; Pelliot in *BEFEO II*, 123-77.

[48] For example, the Inscription of Keboan Pasar, dated 1042. Vide *OJO LXIII* and H. B. Sarkar, *Some Contributions*, 179.

[49] *The Indianized States*, 215.

Śrīndrajayavarman. The new king ascended the throne in 1307. The so-called Angkor Vat inscription[50] which refers to him, is the last Sanskrit inscription of Kambuja. It was composed by the Brahmin scholar Vidyeśadhīmanta. It breathes the dying ageny of Śaivism, as orthodex Buddhism must have made considerable headway by this time. Still, the Court-Brahmins have retained their status in the royal consecrations today.

The social, religious and cultural life of Kambuja bears the indelible stamp of India, both in extent and depth. The native society, based on what was essentially tribal, adapted itself to the caste-system of India. Although theoretically all the four *varṇas* are said to have existed, how far these existed in practice is yet difficult to say, though there is hardly any doubt regarding the existence of the first two varṇas, as their functional activities described in the Sanskrit inscriptions so clearly attest. Regarding the other two orders, the evidence is not so positive. The reference to the huge number of slaves, men and women, in the temple-service however may tempt one to believe that they belonged to the class of the Sūdras while other freemen below the ranks of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas might have enjoyed the status of the Vaiśyas. Inscriptions however attest the creation of new functional groups like the goldsmiths[51] who would have naturally belonged to an order lower than the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatrīyas. A new social group (with emphasis on military service : the Sañjaks), consisting of selected Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya youngmen was also created. All these naturally took place within the frame-work of the Hinduized society of Kambuja.

Now, regarding the marriage custom, it has been observed that the princesses were often married with the Brāhmaṇas from India. During the reign of king Īśānavarman (617-35), a princess of the royal family married the Indian Brahmin Durgasvāmin born in Dakṣiṇāpatha.[52] It is in accordance with this practice that Jayadevī, queen of Jayavarman I, got her daughter Śobhājaya married with the Śaiva Brahmin Śakrasvāmin of Madhyadeśa (Mid-India).[53] Heritage by the female line[54] had also its impact, as in South India, on the social and political life of the country, as many kings and priestly families have claimed their inheritance through the mother.[54] Perhaps Indian music and musical instruments were not unknown, as in Malaya, and some records refer to dancing girls versed in vocal and instrumental music, well-trained in pipes and tāla (beating time).[55] Devadāsī's or dancing girls of temples, with Sanskrit names, are also found in the inscriptions.[56] It is however interesting to observe that, in contrast to the charters of Indonesia, the plethora of names of donees in Kambujan inscriptions are largely Sanskritic.

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[50] Barth and Bergaigne, *ISC*, 560-88.

[51] R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 145, p. 612.

[52] Coedes, *IC*, *IV*, 27.

Besides these, Indian art and architecture, mythology, folklore, law, the art of writing, calendar, the decimal system of notation, etc., also made their impact on appropriate fields in Kambuja. The impact was so great that as early as 903 A.D., an Arab geographer like Ibn Rosteh wrote from Kambuja that it was a part of India. Of the cultural milieu referred to above, special mention must be made of the art and architecture of Kambuja.

In some places of southern Kambuja, in the deltaic region have been found shrines of the 6th and 7th centuries belonging probably to the school of Gupta Art. Coomaraswamy has drawn our attention to the rectangular cell at Hanchei which he thought to be comparable to the Lāḍ Khan temple of Aihole. Specimens of late Gupta Art seem also to be represented in a group of 50 or more brick-tower shrines of Prei kuk, Kompong thom, the walls of which are decorated with architectural motifs and the stone doorways are furnished with *makara*-lintels. The whole group is, according to Coomaraswamy, "conspicuously Indian".[57]

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[53] *Ibid*, 58.

[54] *BEFEO XV*, 55 and *XXV*, 297.

[55] *BEFEO XXXV*, 491 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op.cit.*, no. 6 and Coedes, *IC*, 18 and R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 55.

[56] Coedes, *IC II*, 21 and *The Making of South-East Asia*, 32-33 ; R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no 6, no. 110 A and p. xvii.

In the classic period of Khmer Art (9th-12th century) viewed from the angle of India, the influence was minimal, but in the handling of themes on the reliefs and in the execution of images, in the rounds or otherwise, India is almost everywhere. Of the temples which depicted religious and mythological themes of India, the more important monuments refer to Banteay Srei (late 10th century),[58] Phimeanakas (early 11th century),[59] Baphuon (third quarter of 11th century),[60] Angkor Vat (early 12th century),[61] Angkor Thom (end of 12th century)[61a] and Bayon (12th century).[62] Of these again, the greatest one is doubtless the Angkor Vat, a Viṣṇuite temple, the counterpart of the Buddhist temple of Barabudur in Java. The former temple was built about 1122 by king Sūryavarman II and represents man's contribution to the cultural heritage of mankind. Dr. R. C. Majumdar thinks[63] that the central tower as well as the corner towers have a striking semblance to the śikharas of Indian temples, showing the blending of the Nāgara-style of North India and the Drāviḍa-style of the South, such as we find in the so-called Cālukya-style of the Deccan.

It is a stupendous structure dedicated to Viṣṇu, whose worship was becoming more popular both in India and contemporary Java. In conception, execution and details, it is a massive structure, but not so beautiful as a creation of art as Barabudur. It is encircled by moats which form a rectangle 5000 × 8000 s.ft.; it is crossed by cause-ways with beautiful

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[57] A. K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, 182.

[58] Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, photo nos. 524-530.

[59] Frederic, *The Art of South-East Asia*, no. 319.

[60] *Ibid*, nos. 322-24.

[61] *Ibid*, nos. 337-342 ; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, nos. 531-533b.

[61a] Frederic, *op. cit.*, 353-60 and Zimmer, *op. cit.*, nos. 567-570, 574-82.

[62] Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, no. 330. I have followed the dates fixed by the latest researches.

[63] *History of the Hindu Colonies and Hindu Culture in South-East Asia*, 19.

Nāga-railings. The structure itself has a frontage of 787 ft., while the whole is surrounded by a columned gallery opening on the outer face. The sumptuous bas-reliefs on the outer galleries, covering more than 7000 s.ft. depict numerous scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the Kṛṣṇa-legends as well as others. The theme of churning of the Milk Sea (East Gallery) was particularly appealing to the Khmers and occupied considerable space. The floral design is simply exquisite.[64] Rows of the same type of figures, as for instance, those of the *apsaras* or heavenly nymphs, and of others in some other places, create monotony, though plenty of individual works of art can claim the highest praise.

CHAPTER III.

CAMPĀ : ANOTHER HINDUIZED STATE.

The Chinese name for Campā was Lin-yi. It corresponds to South Viet-nam, excluding Cochin-China, but including the southern fringe-areas of North Viet-nam. The Sanskrit name Campā, from which the Cāms derive their name, does not however appear in the epigraphs of Campā before the seventh century, but the foundation of this State is reported in the Chinese annals to have taken place as early as 192. The sinicised people who lived in the Tongking area first emerge into the light of history. It is said that the Chinese governor of this place complained of raids from Lin-yi into the southern part of the State, but these invaders, called "barbarians" in the Chinese texts[1] had entrenched themselves to power at least in 192 with their capital near modern Hue.[2] The founder of this kingdom is said to have been K'iu-lien (or Ch'u-lien) in the Chinese annals, but attempts to identify him have not hitherto been successful. The new State, once organised, tried to expand its authority to the Hoanh-son spur in the North, its natural frontier, but this attempt brought the Cāms, who were gradually Indianized, against the sinicized Vietnamese in see-saw battles down the centuries.

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[64] Zimmer, *op. cit.*, no. 540.

[1] Pelliot, *Le Founan*, 303.

[2] Maspero, *Le Royaume de Champā*, 43-59.

The succeeding rulers of Lin-yi, as recorded in the Chinese annals, e.g. Fan Fo (377) or Fan Hu-ta (380-413), among others, have not been satisfactorily identified with any ruler(s) mentioned in the Sanskrit epigraphs of the kingdom. The first epigraphic record of this region is the well-known Sanskrit inscription of Vo-cañh, which is usually believed to be dated in the third century A.D.[3] The record, couched in Sanskrit *kāvya*-style was issued by an Indian potentate who belonged to the Śrī-Māra-Rājakula i.e. one born in the royal family of Śrī Māra. This Śrī Māra, the founder of the dynasty, has been identified by Coedes with king Fan-Shih-Man of Funan, but others are inclined to identify him with K'iu-lien referred to above. It may be noted in this connexion that in an inscription of the 9th century A.D., the rulers of Campā claimed their origin from the sage Bhṛgu, which means that, like the Kauṇḍinya-clan, the Bhṛgu-clan also participated in the colonising activities of this region. As matters stand now, it cannot be ascertained if this Śrī Māra could be a member of the Bhṛgu clan.

In any case, king Bhadravarman was the first effective ruler of Campā we know of from Sanskrit inscriptions.[4] He organised the state on a firmer base in the second half of the fourth century. The process of Indianization which had started earlier, at least from the time of Śrī Māra, now gathered momentum. The State-capital was located in the province of

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[3] Bergaigne, *ISCC*, xx, 16-18 ; R. C. Majumdar, *Champā*, Book III, 1 ff. Regarding the date, there is as yet no consensus. For discussion on the subject, vide D.C. Sircar in *JGIS VI*, 53 ff. ; Coedes in *IHQ XVI*, 3 (1940), 72.484 ; D. C. Sircar in *Ibid* XVII (1941). 107-10 ; Gaspardone, *J A*, ccxli (1935), 477-85 ; K. K. Sarkar in *Sino-Indian Studies*. *V*, 2 (1956), 77-87 and K. Bhattacharya, *AA xxiv* (1961), 219-14, etc.

[4] Finot, *Deux nouvelles inscriptions*, 190.

Quang-nam, where some Sanskrit and Cām inscriptions have come to light. The inscriptions of Bhadravarman thus provide documentary evidence indicating the region where Indian culture was first effectively transplanted and the whole region came to be known under the Sanskriṭ name of Amarāvatī. The inscriptions show the dominance of the cult of Śiva-Umā. A temple was dedicated to Śiva at Mi-son under the name of Bhadreśvarasvāmī, thus setting the pace for the custom of naming the tutelary deity after the name of the king.

Unfortunately, the discrepancy between Chinese and Sanskrit names and the problem of their identity persist for many years to vitiate our clear conception of Cām history. From the beginning of the sixth century, the position changes for the better, as we come across Sanskrit inscriptions in an almost unbroken series. In 529, we find established in Campā a new dynasty which ruled the country for over a century. The new king ascended the throne under the name of Rudravarman I, but his claim to the throne does not appear to be strong. He had to trace his descent from king Gaṅgārāja, as we learn from a seventh century inscription.[5] The successor of this king was his son Śambhuvarman, whose date of ascent on the throne is not known, but there is no doubt that he had a long reign. He fought several unsuccessful battles against the Chinese, with alternate breaks of submission and defiance. In the first serious engagement, the Chinese general Liu Fang proceeded upto the capital, then located at Tra-kieu,[6] sacked the city and returned with a rich booty. Śambhuvarman resumed his authority over the kingdom. Another important work of his reign refers to the reconstruction of the temple of Bhadreśvara, which was destroyed by fire during the reign of his father. The king it the name of Śambhu-Bhadreśvara, thus linking the name of the deity with his own.

Śambhuvarman died in 629 and was followed by his son

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[5] Finot in *BEFEO IV*, 922.

[6] R. Stein, Le Lin-yi, *Han-hieu* 2 (1947), 129 and Coedes, *The Indianized States*, 290 f.n. 52.

Kandarpadharma. His reign was peaceful, but his successor Prabhāsadharma's was not, as he was murdered, along with all the male members of the family, by one of his ministers in 645. These palace intrigues and other adverse forces at work violently uprooted the legitimate line and initiated a period of turmoil, marked by the short reign of several kings. Ultimately Prakāśadharma, a remote descendant of Kandarpadharma by the female line and son of the Kambuja-princess Sarvānī, ascended the throne of Campā in 653 with the coronation-name of Vikrāntavarman (I).[7] His reign was peaceful and he sent embassies to China in 653, 657, 669 and 670. After his death, several rulers pass across the political stage of Campā, of which the last legitimate ruler seems to have been Rudravarman II, who seems to have died about 757.

A new dynasty is now installed to power, but the centre of political gravity of the country shifted to the South, to Phan-rang (Pāṇḍuraṅga) and Nha-trang (Kauṭhāra). The geographical features of Campā were such that Nature had cut it into four well-defined regions, such as Amarāvatī, Vijaya, Kauṭhāra and Pāṇḍuraṅga. Now, after the domination of the North, the turn of the southern regions came. The founder of the new dynasty was Pṛthivīndravarman, but we hardly know anything about him except that he bore the posthumous name of Rudraloka,[8] a practice in conformity with that obtaining in Kambuja. The new dynasty thus introduces the usage of posthumous names which identifies the king with his tutelary deity. Another noteworthy fact is that from this time onwards, the Chinese cease speaking of Lin-yi, the ancient name of Campā in Chinese records and replace it by Huan-wang. We may designate the new dynasty as that of Pāṇḍuraṅga.

After the death of Pṛthivīndravarman, he was succeeded by

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[7] Finot, *Les Inscriptions de Mi-son*, 923-24 and Huber, *L'inscription de Tra-kieu*, in *BEFEO XI*, 263. It is stated in the inscription that Kandarpadharma's daughter had a grandson named Jagaddharma who had to leave the country "for certain circumstances"; he went to Cambodia, where he married princess Sarvānī.

[8] Barth and Bergaigne, *ISC*, 224.

Satyavarman, the son of his daughter, sometime before 774. The principal recorded event of his reign was the devastating raid of Javanese marauders in 774, when these "vicious cannibals coming from other countries by means of ships" burnt the temple housing at Mukhaliṅga and took the image along with all properties of the temple. Unable to recover the image, which was thrown into the sea, the disappointed king installed a new Śivamukhaliṅga, together with the images of other deities, in 784 and arranged for endowments for their maintenance. A second Javanese raid during the reign of his successor Indravarman, in 787, effected the destruction of the sanctuary of Bhadrādhipatīśvara.[9] In 799, the king reconstructed the temple destroyed in the Javanese raids ; he also installed the image of Indrabhogeśvara at Vīrapura, the capital, and the image of Indraparameśvara at the temple erected earlier by Satyavarman.

The king's successor was his brother-in-law (sister's husband) Harivarman I, who assumed the gorgeous title of Rājādhirāja Śrī Campāpura-Parameśvara i.e. king of kings, Lord of Campāpura. An important event of his reign was that he fought some desultory battles against the Chinese. He died in c. 820 and was succeeded by his son Vikrāntavarman III. The new king did not leave any successor behind, thus bringing to an end the dynasty of Pṛthivīndravarman which ruled over Campā for over a century.

In 875, a new dynasty is found in power in Campā with capital at Indrapura in Quang-nam. The Chinese annals begin to designate this country as Chan-ch'eng which corresponds to this Sanskrit name Campānagara. The founder of this dynasty was Indravarman II, who, it seems, had no royal pedigree behind him and he chose to link it up with the legendary ancestor Uroja.[10] In other inscriptions, the dynasty, to which he belonged has been designated the Bhṛgu dynasty, and we shall call it as such on this authority. The new king had leanings

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9. It was situated to the West of the capital city Vīrapura, in the vicinity of modern Phan-rang.
10. Coedes discusses (*The Indianized States*, 123) the circumstances under which the king came to occupy the throne.

towards Mahāyāna Buddhism, which was reflected in the creation of a temple and monastery for Buddha at Dong-duong in the vicinity of the capital. He is also known to have installed Śiva-liṅgas, which attests his homage to the traditional faith of the rulers of Campā to Śaivism, but his leanings towards Buddhism was greater and he received the posthumous name of Paramabuddhaloka.

The king's successor was Jaya Simhavarman I, his nephew, who ruled for a short while and installed some images. After him appear successively on the stage of history several rulers named Sri Jayaśaktivarman, Bhadravarman II and Indravarman III. The last-mentioned ruler deserves more attention, because, apart from his literary accomplishments, he had also martial qualities which enabled him to repel a Khmer invasion around 950 A.D. The invaders however stole away the gold statue of a goddess from the sanctuary of Po Nagar, but it was not until fifteen years afterwards that the gold image could be replaced by a stone image during the reign of Jaya Indravarman I.

The history of Campā for about a century after the death of Jaya Indravarman I is marked by palace-intrigues and Annamite invasions. The Annamite invasions grew frequent and serious, as the Annamites would neither live in peace nor allow others to do so. The Cāms were also no better. The most fierce invasion from the North occurred in 982 when the Cām capital was pillaged and its temples burnt. Among the captives were one hundred ladies of the royal harem and one Indian monk of the Buddhist order. Due to prevalent disturbed conditions in the country, the then king of Campā, of whom we know the incomplete name in Chinese transcription as Yang Pu Ku Vijaya Śrī—......—,[11] shifted his capital from Indrapura (Quang-nam) to Vijaya, in the region of Binh-dinh, in 1000 A.D., but this did not save the country from foreign invasions. In 1044, Ly Thai-tong, the king of Dai Viet, personally led, in retaliation for a Cām invasion undertaken during the reign of Jaya Simhavarman II, a maritime expedition to Campā and met the Cām-ruler on the battle-field. The Cām king was beheaded, his army destroyed and Vijaya, the capital city, was pillaged by the invaders. Even the royal harem was compelled to accompany the victorious Annamite king. The performance was repeated at the end of 1068, when the foolhardy Cām king Rudravarman III again launched an invasion against Dai Viet. The ruler of the latter country was still the same Ly Thanh-tong, who had taught the former Cām king a good lesson. The Cām-king, defeated in battle, was captured in the fourth month of 1069 and a large part of Vijaya, the capital-city, was burnt down by the invaders.[12] The Cām-king and the members of his family were taken to Tongking as prisoners, and the victor made a triumphant entry into his capital on the 17th of July. The royal prisoners were however released the same year after ceding three northern districts of Campā to the victor. The king then returned to his country, but it was already torn by strifes and commotion and he disappeared amidst the crash of the dynasty around 1074.

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[11] Masparo, *Le Royaume de Champā*, 129.

A new dynasty, originating from the union of the Cocoanut-clan on the father's side and the Betel-nut clan on the mother's side, now enters on the political scene. The new king, representing these two clans, was Harivarman IV. He was a powerful ruler and fought successful battles against the Khmers and the Vietnamese. He was equally successful as an administrator. Two inscriptions of Mi-son throw welcome light regarding his successful work of reconstruction of the country. It seems that with the exception of the southern district of Pāṇḍuraṅga, the whole country was now more or less united. The king could therefore devote greater attention to the reconstruction of buildings ; rich endowments were also made to the temple of Śrī Īśāna Bhadreśvara. The king then withdrew from worldly affairs and retired to worship his titular deity Śiva. When he died in 1080, fourteen of his wives performed the rites of *suttee* i.e., self-immolation.

Before his retirement, the old king placed his minor son on the throne under the name of Jaya Indravarmadeva II. The regent however usurped the throne himself, but he was set aside in 1086. It redounds to the credit of the young king that he was able to control the civil strifes at home and protect his frontiers against foreign invaders. He defeated the Annamites and the Khmers, his mortal enemies, and thus secured comparative safety to look after peaceful reconstruction of the country ravaged by frequent wars and internal strifes. He reigned until 1113, when he was succeeded by his nephew Harivarman V (1113-39). The new king maintained excellent foreign relations and continued the religious activities of his predecessors.

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[12] Maspero, *Le Royaume de Champā* 141-42.

Harivarman does not appear to have left any heir and a prince of unknown origin was annointed crown-prince in 1133. He ascended the throne under the name of Jaya Indravarman III. In concert with the bellicose Cambodian ruler Sūryavarman II, he fought some unsuccessful battles against the Annamite king in the North, but when the Khmers invaded his own kingdom in 1145, he could not retain his possession over the capital-city Vijaya and disappeared under unknown circumstances.

This was catastrophic for the kingdom of Campā, as a major part of the country, with its capital, was now under the occupation of the Khmer army. Under the circumstances, a scion of the old ruling family proclaimed himself as king Rudravarman IV and took shelter in the southern district of Pāṇḍuraṅga. He never reigned, but earned the posthumous name of Brahmaloka.[13] His son was proclaimed king from Pāṇḍuraṅga in 1147 under the name of Jaya Harivarman(I)[14] The new king was a competent general and was able to defeat the Khmer occupation forces in the battle of Chaklyan and reconquer the capital-city Vijaya. He was consecrated king at the capital in 1149, but his troubles were not however, over, as he had to overcome a revolt, supported by the Annamite, of

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13. Finot, *Les Inscriptions de Mi-son*, 959, 961.
14. *Ibid*.

Vaṃśarāja, his brother-in-law,[15] and establish his full authority over Amarāvatī (Quang-nam),[16] in both of which tasks he was successful. The southern district of Pāṇḍuraṅga was also brought under his complete control. Thankful to his tutelary deities for uniform military successes, he founded religious institutions at Mi-son and Po-nagar.[17]

Jaya Harivarman died in 1166-67, but he was followed, under obscure circumstances, by Jaya Indravarman IV, of Grāmapura. His invasion of Kambuja by land was indecisive, but his fleet proceeded up to the mouth of the Mekong and ascended the river. It pillaged Angkor, the capital-city, and returned with immense booty. The Khmers could never forgive this national humiliation. The intrigues of the Kambujan king in the political life of Campā convulsed it, firstly between 1145 and 1149 and again between 1190 and 1220. Between 1203 and 1220, Campā was virtually a Khmer province, but in 1226, Jaya Parameśvaravarman II, after probably concluding peace with the Kambujan king, whom he had served earlier, was consecrated on the throne of Campā. There was an indecisive war against the Annamites towards the end of his reign (1252), but otherwise he was left in peace. After some palace intreagues, the reigning king was murdered in 1257 his sister's son, who ascended the throne under the name of Śrī Jayasiṃhavarman but took the consecration-name of Indravarman (V) in 1266.

Meanwhile, things were shaping differently in China. The emergence of Jenghiz Khan[18] as the supreme Khan, proclaimed in the *quriltai* or the Great Gathering of the Turko-Mongols in 1206, necessitated redrawing the map of a considerable part of Asia and Europe. Kublai, the grandson of Jenghiz Khan, with the resources of the vast Mongol empire, conquered the Sung empire of China and installed himself in power at Peking in 1260 and wanted to cast thraldom on those states of South-east Asia which were earlier paying "tributes" to China and were accordingly considered to be 'natural satellites" of the Chinese empire.[19]

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[15] Finot, *Les Inscriptions etc*, 965.

[16] Maspero, *op. cit* , 159.

[17] Finot, *op. cit* , 965 ff.

[18] Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes*, 189 ff.

Kublai now wanted to set up a Mongol administration in Campā. The political difficulties between Indravarman V and Kublai Khan led to military intervention by the latter. The Cāms and their enemies, the Annamites, had now a common cause in fighting against the Mongol invasion and their stiff resistance caused heavy drain on the resources of Kublai Khan. The Annamites were more successful, but Campā, although she retained her independence, was bled white. The king of Campā accordingly cultivated the friendship of Kublai Khan, to whom he sent ambassadors in 1285 with rich presents and this show of submission was accepted.

The success of the Cāms against the Mongols was mainly, if not solely, due to the patriotism and martial qualities of the king's son Harijit, who now ascended the throne, shortly after 1285, with the coronation name of Jaya Simhavarman (III). He established friendly relationship with the neighbouring states by contracting matrimonial alliances. He married the Javanese princess Tapasī[20] and the Annamite emperor's sister princess Huyen Tran, who got the Sanskrit title of Parameśvarī.[21] The latter event satisfied the personal whim of the Cām king, but it put official seal to the second dismemberment of the Cām kingdom, as he had to cede two Cām provinces as the price of this marriage. The king however died soon after his marriage with the Annamite princess (1307).

The marriage was a standing humiliation to the people of Campā and the Cāms living in the ceded districts North of Col des Nuages often rebelled against the Annamite suzerainty. This led to frequent skirmishes or hostilities between the two countries. After the death of Jaya Simhavarman III, his son by queen

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[19] Grousset, *op cit*, 288 ff.

[20] Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 332.

[21] Aymonier, *L'Inscription Chame de Po Sah*, in *BCAI* (1911), 15.

Bhāskaradevī, called Che Chi in Vietnamese annals, ascended the throne, but the burden was too heavy for him. The military situation compelled him to ingratiate himself and his family into the favour of the Annamite emperor, but continued anti-Annamite activities of the king landed him into serious difficulties. The Annamite ruler captured the Cām king and took him to Tongking, where he died in 1313. His brother Che Nang, who had meanwhile ascended the throne, was growing restive under Annamite tutelage, but the menacing attitude of the emperor compelled him to seek shelter at the Javanese court in c. 1318, thus bringing to an end the dynasty of Rudravarman Parama-Brahmaloka established in 1145.

The Annamite emperor now tried to rule Campā through military governors like Che A-Nan, but these military governors asserted their independence as soon as circumstances seemed favourable for them. Thus Che A-Nan died virtually as an independent potentate in 1342. Che A-Nan was followed by his son-in-law Tra-hoa Bo-Dc and he by Che Bong Nga. The latter ascended the throne in c. 1360, showed military talents and defeated the Annamite army sent against him. He even pillaged the Annamite capital and returned with a huge booty in 1371, which unprecedented feat he repeated in the following years. But the tide of fortune turned again in favour of the Annamites. In a naval engagement in February, 1390, the undaunted Cām-king was betrayed by a disgruntled Cām officer and was killed by a concentrated volley of musket-fire on his green-coloured royal vessel.[22] The general of the Cām-army, named La Khai, hastened to the capital and ascended the throne, setting aside the claims of the legitimate sons of the last king.

Le hai thus established a new dynasty in Campā. He is probably the same as Śrī Jaya Simhavarmadeva Śrī Harijātti Vīrasimha Campāpura,[23] the progenitor of the Briṣu dynasty. Unfortunately, the new king had once again to give up possession of the Cām territory lying to the North of the Col des Nuages. After his death in 1400, his son ascended the throne under the name of Vīrabhadravarman, but changed the name again to Indravarman (VI) in 1432.[24] But evil luck began to dog him from the start, for he was compelled to hand over Indrapura, the northern part of the province of Amarāvatī, where lay the ancient shrine of Bhadreśvara (Mi-son), to the aggressive Annamites. After the destruction of the reigning Annamite dynasty by the Cihnese in 1407, the Cām king recovered the lost territory referred to above and sent, in gratefulness, rich presents to the Chinese emperor. After his death in 1441, his nephew Mahā Vijaya ascended the throne of Campā and received investiture from the Chinese emperor, but the clashing interests of the rulers of Annam and Campā, coupled with palace intrigues, did not allow any respite to the people. Treachery, civil war and foreign invasions marked the thirty years after the death of Indravarman VI. The succession of five rulers during this short period indicates the kalaeodoscopic changes wrought in the political life of Campā. In 1471, the major part of Campā was permanently absorbed by the Vietnamese. The petty Cām chiefs of Kauṭhāra and Pāṇḍuraṅga continued to receive investitures from the Chinese emperor, but Cām ambassadors do not figure in Chinese annals after 1543.

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[22] For his military exploits, vide Maspero's discussion in *op.cit.*, 203 ff.

[23] Finot in *BEFEO XV*, 13-14.

The pattern of social and religious life in Campā does not appear to be much different from that of Kambuja. The society, essentially a tribal one, was moulded, as far as possible, according to the caste system of India, but it is difficult to say if all the classes really functioned within the framework of the Hindu caste system. It is likely to hade been observed in practical life by the upper strata of the society i.e., the elite which comprised the religious community and the administrative as well as the military class, i.e., the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas. The distinction between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas does not appear to be very rigid. The people outside these categories constituted functional groups, who might be labelled Vaiśyas or Śūdras, according to Hindu conception of the caste system, but it is doubtful if these people, who constituted the bulk of the autochthonous Cām people, consciously functioned as Vaiśyas and Śūdraṣ. It is perhaps easier to divide them into the categories of slaves and non-slaves.

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[24] Finot, *Les inscriptions du Musee de Hanoi*, 13-14. It may be observed in this connexion that not only Indravarman VI, but also some of his predecessors had changed their royal names. The ancient Javans who were racially allied to the Cām people are also known to have changed their names on important occasions of their lives. It is not known if the change of their names recorded in Cām epigraphy has anything to do with this custom.

The upper crust of the society constituted the class of aristocrats, whose rights and privileges differed from those of the commonality. Apart from dress and ornaments which distinguished the upper classes from the lower, the privileged community had the right to use special conveyances like palanquins and elephants, to the accompaniment of music and dancing parties. The right to sit near the king was also the privilege of the aristocrats. The society had another peculiarity in common with that in Kambuja and Java, namely, that the inheritance often passed through the female line. It is true that the circumstances are not always clear, but, unlike the practice in northern India, this is a recurring phenomenon in Campa and Kambuja.

Indians were probably responsible for the introduction of clothings to cover the shame of the autochthonous population of both Kambuja and Campā. The dress however covered only the lower part of the body, but the upper part of both men and women was usually kept, as in India, bare even in the early medieval period. The *suttee* system or widow-burning was in vogue. It may be recalled that when king Harivarman IV died in 1080, fourteen of his wives performed *suttee*, but how early it was introduced into Campā we can not say. The same practice was noted by the Franciscan monk Odoric of Pordenone.[25]

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25. French and English translations of his itinerary are available. For the English translation of the text, vide Yule and Cordier *Cathay and the Way Thither* (1913) II. 167.

when he visited Campā in the middle of the fourteenth century. This was not however a universal custon. Ma Tuan-lin,[26] writing in the 13th century, records an early tradition about Campā, then called Lin-yi, that there were "widows who have vowed never to marry again," thus reminding one of contemporary Hindu customs of India.

The Hindu Trinity was well-known in Campā, but Brahmā, the first member of the Trinity, and Viṣṇu, the second member, do not appear to have been very popular. In fact, when P. Mus[27] analysed 128 of the more important inscriptions of Campā, he found that 21 are not addressed to any specific deity, while three refer to Viṣṇu, 5 to Brahmā and as many as 92 to Śiva. The religious life of Campā was thus dominated, as in Kambuja. by Śaivism, particularly, in the form of Śivalinga. It seems that sometimes human sacrifices were made before the deities. One particular image of Śivaliṅga, namelv the Bhadreśvaraliṅga, served as the palladium of the dynasty and enjoyed tremendous reputation down the centuries. It was earliest liṅga-palladium of any royal house in South-east Asia. Many rulers of Campā, such as Prakāśadharma (653), Indravarman II (875) and others made rich endowments to this titular deity and Sanskrit hymns were composed by poets in its honour. In 991,[28] Harivarman II also erected a temple called Īśānabhadreśvara at Mi-son. From its references in later inscriptions, it seems to have grown into an institution of national importance,[29] but its identity with the old Bhadreśvara or Śambhu-Bhadreśvara temple has not been firmly established. Subsequent rulers have also endowed it with rich gifts. It has been stated for example, that king Jaya Indravarman IV (1166-90) coated the pinnacles of this temple with about 75 pounds of gold and adorned the temple with silver decorations weighing about 35,000 pounds. Thus, Mi-son and Po-nagar, where another temple-complex was dedicated to the Śivaite gods, became places of national pilgrimage. As in life, so in death, the kings of Campā, like those of Kambuja, Java, and to a smaller extent, Southern India, became merged in their titular deities.

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[26] Translation by Marquis d'Harvey de Saint-Denis, *Ethnographie des peuple a la Chine. ouvrage compose au XIII siecle de notre ere*, 422-25.

[27] *BEFEO XXXIII*, 367-410.

[28] Finot, *Inscription de Quang-nam*. 113.

[29] Finot, *Les inscriptions de Mi-son*. in *BEFEO IV*, 945 and 976.

Some of these temples were very old and tradition has it that when the Javanese raiders destroyed the original temple of the Mukhaliṅga of Po-nagar in 774, it was stated to have been first built by king Vicitrasāgara in the year 5911 of the Dvāpara-yuga. When another batch of Javanese raiders destroyed the sanctuary of Bhadrādhipatīśvara in 787, the people thought that it had existed for thousands of years.

Śiva in his various manifestations was thus the most important deity in Campā, but he was occasionally identified with Viṣṇu. This led to the development of the cult of Hari-Hara, which was quite popular in both Indo-China and Indonesia. One of the early kings of Campā namely king Satyavarman (774), made rich endowments for the temple of Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa.

Other deities of the Śaiva pantheon were also worshipped in Campā. Śiva's Śakti under various names, such as Bhagavatī, Devī, Gaurī, etc., was widely worshipped, particularly in the southern part of Campā in the region of Kauṭhāra. The image of Bhagavatī Kauṭhāreśvarī in the temple of Po-nagar was highly venerated. The images of Gaṇeśa, Kārtikeya, Nandin, etc., have also been found.

Worship of Viṣṇu, though not as popular as that of Śiva, was well prevalent. King Vikrāntavarman who ascended the throne of Campā in 653 constructed many temples, which seem to be associated with Viṣṇuism, though not of a sectarian type.[30] It may be recalled that some rulers of Campā, such as Jaya Rudravarman as well as Jaya Harivarmadeva, considered themselves as incarnations of Viṣṇu. Deities of the Viṣṇuite pantheon, such as Lakṣmī or Śrī, Garuḍa, etc., are often referred to in the inscriptions, even as many marvellous feats of Viṣṇu in his incarnations of Kṛṣṇa, such as the lifting of mount Govardhana, the destruction of Kamsa, Keśī, Ariṣṭa, Pralamva, etc. Lesser gods of the Hindu pantheon, such as Indra, Kuvera, Yama, Candra, Sūrya, Sarasvatī, etc., have also their share of eulogy in the inscriptions.

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[30] P. Mus. in *BEFEO XXVIII*, 152.

Buddhist divinities were also worshipped in Campā. An early Buddhist image wrought in the Gupta style has been found in the Dong Douang region of Quangnam,[31] but Coedes has warned us that since images are transferable, no theory should be built upon the date.[32] A Chinese text however informs us that when the Chinese captured the capital city of Campā in 605, they took with them 1350 Buddhist works. The sheer number of the books indicates that the capital-city had a large community of Buddhists. The school to which the Buddhists of Campā belonged has been specified by I-tsing, who says that the Buddhists of Campā generally subscribed to the Āryasammitīya-school, though there were some others who were adherents of the Sarvāstivāda school.[33] Buddhist monasteries called Saugatāśrama were built up in many places. Inscriptions from the 8th century or near about that time seem to indicate that Mahāyāna Buddhism, with Tāntrik tinge, had penetrated into the religious life of Campā. This might be due to the patronage of Tāntrik Buddhism by the Pāla rulers of Bengal and the Śailendra monarchs of the Malayo-Indonesian world. It is not therefore surprising that King Indravarman II, the founder of the Bhṛgu dynasty (875) lent his powerful support to Tāntrik Buddhism. He erected a temple for Buddha and monastery at Dong Douang in the vicinity of his capital. Although a patron of Buddhism he showed his spirit of religious toleration by installing Śivaliṅga. On his death, the king received the posthumous name of Paramabuddhaloka. This Tāntrik Buddhism continued for some centuries, but gradually, in the Mekong and

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31. *BEFEO XI*, 471 and Boisselier, *La Statuaire du Champā*, publ. EFEO, LIV.
32. Coedes, *The Making of South-East Asia*, 67.
33. I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (671-695), p. XXIV (Tr. J. Takakusu).

the Menam basins, it had to make room for orthodox Buddhism of the Simhalese variety, introduced through the Mons of Burma and the Tais of Thailand.

In the domain of Art and Architecture, Campā, devastated by frequent warfare with the Anamites, could not achieve much. Some scholars, particularly M. H. Parmentier,[34] M. Stern,[35] H. G. Quaritch Wales[36] and Frederic[37] have done remarkable work, elucidating the characteristics of the Art of ancient Campā. While referring the readers to the study of these works for the details, I should like to confine my attention here to the contribution of India in the evolution of the ancient Cām art.

Speaking from the view-point of Indian art, its weakest child was doubtless Campā and no relics of its architectural art dated before the 8th century A.D. have come down to us, possibly because of the use of wooden materials for its architecture. In the early Cām art, the treatment is definitely Indian, for instance, in the execution of the architecture, ornamented with flowers and ending in *makaras* turning outwards. The architectural remains of this style are mostly centred at Mi-son E-1. These structures were light and had brick-base, the whole reverting perhaps to the post-Gupta proto-types.[38] In the architectural works of the 8th-9th century, we notice strong arches and pilasters and these features dominate the Hoa Lai region. Here, the towers have sometimes horse-shoe niches which are peculiar features of Kudu-style architecture of Southern India. A study of the Cām arches, pilasters and friezes could also indicate that the Cām masters had sometimes given a curving effect to Indian decorative motifs. The "scroll with recurved volute" occurs at Bhumara,[39] but this seems to have received scant attention in the 8th-9th century, but was

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34. *Inventaire descriptif des Monuments Chams* l'*Annam*, 1909-18.
35. *L'art du Champā et son evolution*, 1942.
36. *The Making of Greater India.*
37. *Op. Cit.*
38. Frederic, *op. cit.*, 265.
39. *Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind* , no. 16. pls. IV a and b and VII c and H.G. Quaritch Wales, *op., cit.* 150.

adopted in the style of Campā through the intermediary of Java in the early 10th century.[40] In the 9th-10th century, the Cām-style, marked by excessive decoration, centred however in the Dong Duong complex. It is however interesting to observe in this connexion that the structural lay-out of the Buddhist monastery of this place strikingly reminds one of the plan of Paharpur. In the 10th century, the statuary art of Campā regains signs of vigour and the creation of Cām sculpture became more beautiful. The statues on the pedestal of Tra-Kieu, for example, have been described by Frederic as "among the most famous and most beautiful in style, although still of distinctly Indian influence".[41] Decadence sets in the early 12th century, but it is well to remember that both in the classic period and in decadence, the Cām artists have handled themes or objects of art which are thoroughly Indian, though they have, on more occasions than not, used their own idioms in the execution of this art.

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[40] Stern, *L'art du Champā* (1942), 30.
[41] *Op. cit.*, 267.

CHAPTER IV

THE KINGDOMS OF ANCIENT BURMA

Since Burma is India's closest neighbour, it was expected that the first trace of Indianization outside India would be met here, but the progress of archaeology in this country has not advanced so far to justify its legendary claim for link with pre-Buddhist India. I have already drawn attention to the early tradition of Burma about the settlement of the Śākyas and the Moriyas in that country, but archaeological explorations have belied that expectation, as these have brought to light the vestiges of another people, namely the Pyus, whose ancient capital has been located at Moza near Prome, called Thayekhettaya, Sanskrit Śrīkṣetra.[1] The earliest history of the Hinduized Pyus can be traced from the third century onwards. Two Buddhist sects, one following Theravāda, and the other Mūlasarvāstivāda, seem to have flourished side by side. The Mūlasarvāstivādins might have come from the region of Magadha The vestiges of Hindu religion from this place are comparatively meagre.

The Pyus came under the political orbit of the powerful kingdom of Nan-chao in Yunnan in the 8th and 9th centuries. The impact of Indian culture on the Pyus at the beginning of the 9th century can be ascertained from T'ang Annals. We read in one place "The king's name is Māharāja. His chief minister is Mahāsena. The city-wall, faced with glazed bricks, is 27 miles in circumference.... There are over a hundred Buddhist monasteries, with courts and rooms all decorated with gold and silver. It is their custom to love life and hate killing.... They are acquainted with astronomy and delight in Buddha's law.... There is a great white image, 100 ft. high.... They have 22 musical instruments."[2] Archaeological explorations at and around Prome, Maunaggun, Moza and other neighbouring places lend general support to the standard of Indo-Pyu civilisation revealed in the Chinese text quoted above.

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[1] Regarding excavation at Prome, vide references in Luce, *JBRS* XXIX (1939), 278, note 19. The name Śrīkṣetra for Purī and Ussa i.e. Odra or Orissa for Pegu seems to be interesting, but no theory can be built upon this slender foundation.

The remains of art and architecture from Pyu times are neither substantial nor impressive, but an interesting find from Hmawza is a stele, decorated with a stūpa with five parasols and five meditative Buddhas[3] on the square base. The style of the images seems to relate it to the Amarāvatī school, thus from c. 400 A.D. or a little earlier. A terra cotta bas relief, also found at the same place, contains a Buddha image which seems to reveal a style intermediary between that of the Kuṣāṇas and the Guptas. One of their stūpas, partly restored in 1959, namely the Payama pagoda, Hmawza, is believed by some to owe its inspiration to East Indian architectural style. The ruined Buddhist pagodas of Prome constructed between the 5th and the 7th century, such as the Payagyi and the Payama,[4] reveal cylindrical type with hemispherical or pointed dome, a feature found in the architecture of eastern India. Coedes has also drawn our attention to the fact that the origin of the Pyu style of the cylindro-conic *śikhara*, based upon a *garbhagṛha* (sanctum sanctorum), has to be traced to Orissa.[5]

Contact with Eastern India is also confirmed by a 7th-8th century royal funerary urn with legends in Pyu language. The names of three rulers, such as Sūryavikrama, Harivikrama, Sīhavikrama, and of others from a different source, such as those of Prabhuvarman and Jayacandravarman, indicate not only the base of their religious and cultural life, but also the extent of Indianization of the Pyus in about the 8th century.[6] Mahāyāna Buddhism was firmly established during their time, as contemporary Buddhist images attest, but these were neither substantial nor impressive.

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[2] R. C. Majumdar, *History of Hindu Colonies and Hindu Culture in South-East Asia*, p.3.

[3] This indicates the relationship between the number of the Buddhas and the parasols. For descriptions, vide Frederic, *op. cit.*, 26-27 and Photo No. 12.

[4] Frederic, *op. cit.*, Photo Nos. 6 and 7.

[5] *The Making of South-East Asia*, 111-12.

The Mrammas who appeared on the scene later than the Pyus absorbed the latter in their body politic. They were a virile people, but semi-civilised, and were now culturally assimilated by the conquered. The first great king of the Mrammas, whom we may henceforward call the Burmans, was Aniruddha (also called Anoratha, Anuruddha), who ascended the throne in 1044. His capital was at Pagan (called Arimarddanapura in Sanskrit), which he soon made the nerve-centre of a big kingdom. He suppressed the sect of the Aris, who were followers of a debased form of Tāntrik Buddhism.[7]

The king was converted to Hīnayāna Buddhism by Shin Arahan and naturally wanted to be acquainted with the doctrines and sacred literature of the religion. So he sent envoys to the Mon king Makuṭa for the sacred books, etc. On refusal of the latter, he marched on Thaton, the capital of the Mon king, and returned victoriously not only with the sacred books but also with the royal prisoner, artisans, craftsmen, etc. Theravāda Buddhism of the Mons, their arts and crafts, scripts, literature, etc., were adopted by the Burmans.

The work of Aniruddha was carried forward by Kyanzyttha, the son of an Indian Arakanese princess by him or a mandarin. Kyanzyttha ascended the throne in 1086. It was he who constructed the famous Ananda temple after an Indian model[8] and the images of the king and his *guru* Shin Arahan[9] (the son of a Brāhmaṇa of Thaton and follower of the Kāñcī school of Buddhism) were installed in prayerful attitude at the temple. The dynasty ruled till 1287, when Kublai Khan destroyed the splendid city of Pagan by fire and sword. This led to regional assertion of authority by the Shans, the Mons and the Burmese. Ava, Sagaing, Amarapura and Mingun tried to establish their respective supremacy, until the British stepped in in 1885. In spite of the political vicissitudes in succeeding centuries, modern Burma has evolved out of the Indo–Mon contribution to its civilisation.

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[6] Blagden in *Ep. Ind.* XII, 127-32 ; *JBRS* VII (1917), 37, 44 and Finot in *BEFEO XV*, 2, 132-34 ; N. Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, 19-20 ; Luce in *JBRS*. XXVII, 243.

[7] *ARASB*, 1915-16, 80.

[8] According to legend (*Glass Palace Chronicle*, (110), it was modelled upon the grotto of Nandamula on Mt. Gandhamādana.

[9] This is a title. His proper name was probably Silabuddhi or Dhammadassi (Vide *Glass Palace Chronicle*, 71-72, 74).

The influence of Indian art and sculpture on Pre-Aniruddha Burma is limited to time and scope. The Amarāvatī-Pallava Gupta wave had long ago exhausted itself and the palmy days of the Eastern School of Art was already on. It has been estimated that there are still 5000 sites of existing monuments in Burma, of which about a thousand are still standing, though in various degrees of preservation. The earliest specimens of the Burmese temples are no longer extant, but their replicas are found on the votive tablets with proto Bengali or Nāgarī legends on them. These legends may be assigned on palaeological grounds, between the 6th-7th and the 13th century. The architectural features of the replicas on the votive tablets bear affinity with the Nanpaya (10th century)[10] and the Patothamya temples (10th-11th century).[11] Both of these temples have again affinity with the famous Ānanda temple. Now, regarding the Ānanda temple, it can be said with justice that it is a veritable museum of stone sculptures and terra-cotta bas-reliefs. It has 80 stone reliefs and 926 plaques depicting many *Jātaka*-stories. Regarding this temple, Duroiselle had observed[12] that its architectural pattern "bear the indisputable stamp of Indian genius and craftsmanship", but this generous tribute has been tempered somewhat by subsequent researches. It is however generally damitted that the main inspiration of the Pagan temples,

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10. Frederic. *op. cit.*, No. 63, 66.
11. *Ibid.* No. 73.
12. In the monograph "*The Ananda temple of Pagan*" (Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind. no. 56).

specially the Ānanda-temple, has to be traced to eastern India, particularly the Pāhāḍpur temple of Bengal. The latter temple was a stupendous structure which was, according to the Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitr, "a singular feast to the eyes of the world".[13] There are doubtless some deviations between the two structures,[14] but in spite of these, the common cruciform shape of the temple, the huge central pile with two circumbulatory half vaulted corridors covered by a roof in ogee form, among others, would underline the similarity of the two. Similarly, the Abeyadana (1059)[15] and the Patothamya (10th century) temples, with their tiered roofs surmounted by stūpas had their proto-types in Bengal, even as the Thatbyinnyu (1144),[16] the Tilominlo (1218),[17] etc., with their tiered roofs surmounted by *Śikhara*, as in northern India, had. It may be noted in this connexion that the Mahābodhi-temple of Pagan,[18] constructed by king Htilo Minlo in the 13th century, was executed after the pattern of the temple of the same name in Bodh Gaya. The influence of the Pāla-art is also reflected in the decorative motifs, such as beadings, garlands, flower and foliage motifs, Kala-heads disgorging chaplets and *makaras*, vase of abundance etc.

From the domain of architecture, we may now pass on to the study of the plastic and sculptural art of Burma. Here the earliest specimens of art perhaps refer to the terra-cotta bas-relief from the Pegu district betraying influences of the Amarāvatī school of art. Here the child musicians seem to be enjoying a bull-fight.[19] Frederic thinks that "the lively scene may be the work of Indian artists dating from the third or the fourth century A.D.''[20]

The sculptures from Thaton and Hmwza in the later days of pre-Aniruddha Pagan, whether affiliated to Hindu or Buddhistic school of thought, pertain to the Eastern School of Art, though minor art traditions are also not altogether absent.

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[13] *Ep. Ind.* XXI, 97.

[14] S. K. Saraswati in *JISOA II* (1934) and *JGIS IX* (1942), 26ff.

[15] R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal I*, p.l. XXXVII, 90.

[16] Frederic, *op. cit.*, photo no. 88.

[17] *Ibid*, photo no. 92.

[18] *Ibid*, photo no. 96.

[19] *Ibid*, photo no. 18.

[20] *Op. cit.*, 39.

As early as the 9th and the 10th century, some Hindu deities came to be worshipped at Thaton. Bhddhist images of this period are however completely absent, but Viṣṇu in Anantaśayana and in other postures have been found in Thaton and Pagan. A group of Viṣṇuite images belongs to the Nat-hlaung kyaung temple of Pagan, which is the only ancient Viṣṇu temple of Burma, perhaps dating, according to Ray,[21] from the 11th century. Images of Kalki, Rāma, Paraśurāma and Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa have also been found.[22] The lively modelling of the figures, the slim arms and legs, physiognomy of the face and body show close affinity with the Eastern School of Art. It is noteworthy that the Buddhist pagoda of Pagan built in the 11th century depicts Rāma according to the *Daśaratha jātaka*, while Public recital of the *Rāmāyaṇa* took place as late as the 16th century.[22a]

It is interesting to observe that the image of Brahmā, perhaps of an earlier date, has also been found,[23] as also Brahmā-reliefs in the Nanpaya temple.[24] It is also a noticeable fact that the Śaivite images of Burma are mostly affiliated to the art-traditions of Southern India, though some Gaṇeśa-images may be referred to the Eastern School of Art. It would appear somewhat strange that, in spite of fairly strong impact of the South Indians in the life of lower Burma, the influence of their art-traditions would not make any perceptible dent.

Regarding Buddhist images, Le May[25] has drawn our attention to the strange phenomenon that no Mon images of Buddha have hitherto been found in Burma, contemporaneous with or similar to those created by the brother-Mon sculptors in Thailand. The iconography of the Buddhist images of Burma is completely Indian and, as bound by canonical prescriptions, can show little variety. The type of Buddha images refers them to the Pāla-art under theological prescriptions of the Nālandā University. Most common Buddha figures are wrought in the usual *bhūmisparśamudrā*. A famous group in the Ānanda-temple representing the birth of Gautama Buddha has been executed in clear Pāla-style. In sculptural patterns, some peculiarities of the Gupta-style persisted for long, for instance, in the composition of the garment of the gilt-wood Buddha in Pagan.[26]

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[21] N. Ray, *Brāhmaṇical gods in Burma*, 34 ff., fig. 1

[22] *Ibid*, figs. 9-16.

[22a] V. Raghavan, *The Rāmāyaṇa in Greater India* (1975) p. 144.

[23] N. Ray *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82 and fig. 28.

[24] *Ibid*, fig. 29.

[25] *A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam*, p. 30.

Mural paintings in the temples of Burma also bear the impact of the Eastern School of Art, as also of the Nepalese and West Indian Jaina paintings, although the latter are again affiliated to the first mentioned school of art. The Eastern School of Art is also represented on the wall-paintings in the temples of Kabaukkyi, the Abeyadana, the Thanbulu and some others, while the impact of the latter streams is reflected in the temples of Payathon, Nandamanna and some others. A comparison of the two parallel traditions, as depicted in the wall-paintings of Burma, with those of the well-known miniature paintings on the MSS of the *Aṣṭasahasrikāprajnāpāramitā* and the *Pancarakṣa*[27] reveals the fact that the personal figures are almost alike in features, physiognomy, poses and attitudes, dress, ornaments, particularly in the flat modelling of the contours of their body and in the distinct sweep of their lines.[28] It is however worth noting that some of the mural paintings, for instance, the image of Bodhisattva Lokanātha represented on the wall of the Kubaukkyi temple, refer to the unorthodox miniature paintings of Bengal, which do not conform to the *sādhanās* prescribed for them.[29]

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[26] Frederic, *op. cit.*, 81 and photo no. 81.

[27] Vide Add. 1464 and 1688 of Cambridge University Library and A 15 in the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

[28] N. Ray *op. cit.*, 92.

[29] Vide in this connexion, Cambridge University MS no. Add. 1643. For note and illustrations, vide N. K. Bhattasali. *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculpture in the Dacca Museum*, 12-13, p.l. 1 ; Foucher, *L'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'inde I*, 102, IV,3.

CHAPTER V

THAILAND

The neighbour of Burma is Thailand, called Siam for the first time in a Cām record from 1050.[1] Its past history, like that of Burma, is virtually a blank one, at least for the first five hundred years; that for the next five hundred years is also not very promising either.

The first historical kingdom of Siam seems to be Dvāravatī referred to by Yuan Chwang under the name of T'o-lo-po-ti. Whatever archaeological and epigraphic data are available seem to indicate the Buddhistic character of the population of this place, even as that of Haripuñjaya further North, with its capital near the present Chieng-mai, do. It is also clear that the people inhabiting the central part of Siam belonged to the Mon race, which had also had other settlements in Burma. In the beginning of the 11th century, Kambuja established its hegemony over Lavo (Lopburi) and, in the following century, this authority was extended to the borders of the kingdom of Haripuñjaya.

Meanwhile, due to political difficulties, the T'ais of Nanchao (in Yunnan) had been infiltrating into Siam and Burma at irregular intervals.[2] In this way, they established small principalities in various localities of South-East Asia. Due to considerable disturbances in southern Yunnan towards the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the thirteenth, a considerable body of the Hinduized T'ais of that region migrated towards the South and swelled the number of their compatriots already settled in Siam and elsewhere, where they found also an Indianized society. In the beginning of the 13th century, the Mons of Haripuñjaya, the Khmers of Laos and several T'ai principalities are found dominating the political scene of Upper Thailand.

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[1] Aymonier, *Premiere etude sur les inscriptions l'chames*, in *JA*, 1891 (Jan-Feb), 29.

[2] For the history of the T'ai people, vide Gogoi, *The T'ai and the T'ai kingdoms*, 209 ff.

This first T'ai kingdom of note in Thailand was that of Sukhodaya, founded by Indrāditya in about 1220. He was a competent general and extended his territory by incessant warfare. The T'ai rulers of the principalities referred to earlier entered into a friendly alliance in 1287, but ultimately Rāma Khaemheng, a son of Indrāditya, established his undisputed authority over the other T'ai chiefs and built up a large empire before his death sometime prior to 1299. When the successors of Rāma Khaemheng became weak, power passed into the hands of the T'ais of Dvāravatī Śrī Ayodhyā (Ayutthaya), to which Sukhodaya submitted and the king of the latter place assumed the title of Rāmādhipati. When the city of Ayutthaya was destroyed during the Burmese invasion of 1767, the capital was shifted to Bangkok, where the dynasty is still ruling.

If we now look back in retrospect, it will appear that the Hinduized Mons and the Khmers had already laid the matrix of an Indo-T'ai society. Although the political and cultural history of the Siamese people during the first millenium is not adequately known, its saga in stone, despite all changes in the character of the ruling authorities, unfolds the story of the steady Indianization of the people in respect of their religion, and the attuning of their life according to the precepts of Buddhism.

In the famous inscribed obelisk of Rāma Khaemheng dating from 1292, the king has stated that not only the king himself but also all people, high or low, men or women, should follow the religion of Buddha and follow its precepts for the rainy season, after which occurs the ceremony of Kat'in i.e., 'the presenting of robes to the priests'. The emergence of a centralised powerful Thai kingdom was a late political phenomenon, so also the unity of its religious life. Religious unity was the effect of Hīnayāna Buddhism, in which the Simhakese monks played an important role.

Indian art and architecture, as modified by local circumstances, had conditioned the pattern of their evolution. Of the settlements referred to earlier, Central Siam seems to have been the first to be influenced by the Art of the Amarāvatī school and later on by the Indianized Mons of lower Burma, while North-Eastern Siam, then part of the Indianized kingdom of Funan (later on Kambuja) received Indian influences through the latter kingdom. Southern Siam received Indian influences, particularly of the Pallava stamp, by way of the sea since the early centuries of the Christian era. Maritime states like Kaliṅga and Bengal entered on the Siamese scene more vigorously in the 8th and 9th centuries. These and other factors have led Le May to propound the view that "all the sculptural influences brought to bear upon the people of Siam in historic times have come, directly or indirectly, from India."[3]

Unfortunately, none of the statues found in Siam bear a date but some of them bear Sanskrit or Mon inscriptions. The earliest specimens of Indian art found in Siam relate to sculptures in the Amarāvatī style wrought in bronze.[4] The Mon-Indian or the Dvāravatī phase of Siamese art covers the period from the 5th to the middle of the 10th century and many images of this period, particularly those found in Lopburi, P'rapatom and also Ayutthaya, either standing or seated, bear the imprint of the Gupta style, and one of the sculptors of the period has inscribed his name as Samādhigupta. This style of sculptural art must have been transmitted from eastern India through the port of Tāmralipti. In addition to the large number of Buddhist images[5] have also been found burnt clay-tablets bearing the wellknown Buddhist formula *ye dhamma hetuprabhavā*, etc., written in the Pāli language and Grantha-script. Some symbols relating to Buddha, such as the wheel

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3. *A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam*, 14-15.
4. *Ibid*, figs. 3,4,5.
5. *Ibid*, figs. 24-35.

of the Law and the Deer have also been found, mainly from P'rapatom, dating from the 5th or the 6th century.[6] The great temple of P'rapatom also houses a big image of Buddha, as also others, affiliated to the Gupta style.[7] Not less interesting is the impact of the Pāla art of Bengal and Bihar on the Chiengsen school of northern Thailand through the intermediary of Burma. The earliest examples of this School seem to refer to the 12th century when the Pālas were already disappearing from the stage of Indian history, but Buddhist missionaries from eastern India and Burma must have been responsible for the introduction of this Pāla Art. A comparison of the heads of Buddha of the two schools, particularly in the design of the rounder head of the Buddha, his eye-brows springing from the bridge of the nose, the *uṣṇīṣa* in some cases ending in lotus-bud,[8] apart from other common features, illustrates the point.[9] Some of the Bodhisattva images of northern Thailand, seated on the lotus throne, with the short fold of the robe over the left shoulder and crossed legs with soles uppermost, are also reminiscent of the Pāla-art.[10] The mahāparinirvāṇa-image of Buddha, though rare, also draws its inspiration from Pāla Bengal.[11]

Unfortunately, we do not know much about the achievements of the Mons of Dvāravatī in the domain of architecture, as hardly anything exists now, excepting some stūpas or chedis, but even these remains are instructive from the view-point of India's contribution. The Indian motif of pūrṇaghaṭa (vase of abundance) was also adopted by the Mons of Dvāravatī, even as the Mons of Burma had done, for their architectural decoration. The fragment of a column at Pracchinburi indicates that some of the decoration -motifs, as represented in the intersecting garlands, are entirely Gupta in style. The dolmañca-type of terraced constructions in earth[12], as are still set up in Bengal to instal Kṛṣṇa during *Dol*-festivals, is the exact proto-type of certain categories of temples found in Thailand and elsewhere. The Vat Kukut at Lampun [13] and the Vat Prahtat, Hariponchai, which are allied to each other, show remarkable affinity with the Sat Mahal Prasada of Polunnaruva in Siṃhala (12th century), and all these specimens seem to be interlinked with the lost proto-type of Bengal. The Vat Chet Yot or seven spired temple, located at the outskirts of Chiengmai, completed in the second half of the 13th century, is a duplication of the Mahabodhi temple of Pagan, which again was a copy of the famous temple at Bodh Gaya in Bihar.[14]

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[6] A concise history of Buddhist Art in siam, figs. 21,22.

[7] *Ibid*, figs. 17,18.

[8] *Ibid*, 105.

[9] Cf. R. D. Banerji, *The Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, pls. XVIII c and LXVI c ; Kramrisch in *Rupam* 40, fig. 43 ; Le May, *op. cit* , 102-4 and figs. 111,113,114,115.

[10] Le May, *op. cit.*, fig. 121.

[11] *Ibid*, fig. 121.

From inscriptions pertaining to the 11th century, it appears that both the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists lived peacefully side by side at Lopburi, where the Brāhmaṇas were also practising *yoga* undisturbed. The kings were tolerant in religious matters, which is a gift of India to South-East Asia, and this is also borne out from a study of the contemporary inscriptions. Bronze images of Siva, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmi and other deities made during the Ayutthayan period (14th-17th century) also speak of this religious toleration.[15] This traditional toleration has allowed the Brāhmanas to retain their high status in the State ceremonies of this Buddhist country and their features, even today, bear the stamp of their Indian origin.

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[12] N. K. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, xv. Perhaps this is a proto-type lost in Bengal.

[13] Le May, *Op. cit.*, figs. 081 and 109.

[14] *Ibid*, fig. 127.

[15] These have been preserved in the Bronze Hall of the National Museum of Bangkok.

CHAPTER VI

MALAY PENINSULA AND BORNEO/KALIMANTAN

(i) *MALAYA* PENINSULA

The peninsula of Malaya forms a bridge between India and Indonesia and not unnaturally some of the earliest Chinese references have a bearing on this island. Here, new Indianized States were cropping up. Indeed, in the first few centuries of the Christian era, about a dozen or so petty kingdoms pass before our view in the isthmian part of the peninsula.[1] In the western part of it, Takua pa and/or Takkola make (s) a debut as important port (s) from about the second century A. D.

At Takua pa, there was an Indianized settlement and ruins of shrines have been found there.[2] The small shrine at Phra No Hill houses a magnificent image of Viṣṇu dating from the 6th or 7th century A. D.[3] About 12 miles off from the Takua pa estuary, there was another Indian settlement, as the discovery of three images of Hindu deities would attest. Indeed, archaeological discoveries in this region from the third to the 8th century would testify to the fact that Takua pa, with its Hindu population, was a flourishing port during the period.[4]

In the neighbouring Bujang Valley and its vicinity, Wales excavated the foundations of ten Śaiva temples and these have been referred to the period 550-750 A.D. The foundations of some Śaiva temples of Kedah seem to indicate that at least some of them might have been constructed by Pallava immigrants, but, hitherto, in the Western coast, no surviving structure of pure Pallava-style, matching sculptures of Pallava-style has been found, though Wales thought that he had found near to one of Śaiva-temples a miniature shrine-roof closely corresponding to the roof of a Pallava-ratha.[5] A seventh or early eighth century temple excavated on a low spur of the Kedah peak is believed to demonstrate a transitional form between the South Indian sepulchral shrines and the *caṇḍis* of Java. It seems that Śaiva-temples of decadent Pallava-style also survived from the 11th-12th centuries.

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[1] Wheatley, *Golden Khersonese*, particularly 282 ff.

[2] *IAL IX*, 8 ff.

[3] Vide Dupont in *BEFEO XLI* (1941), 253-4 ; Wales in *IAL IX*, 45.

[4] Wales, *op. cit.*, no. 1 (1935), 9-11 ; *Towards Angkor*, 47 ff. For earlier literature, vide Lajonquiere, *BCAI* (1909), 234-7 and (1912), 166-9.

In the days of I-tsing, Kedah was a regular port of call, where pilgrims waited for the proper rhythm of the monsoon to cross the Bay of Bengal. During the days of its glory, it had close contact with many parts of India and had a large Indian population. Of the early important states in eastern Malaya, Langkasuka, founded at the close of the first or the beginning of the second century A. D.[6], was located near modern Patani. We learn further from the Chinese annals that an exiled relation of a king of this place went to India and married there the eldest daughter of the king. After the death of the king, the prince returned home to take up the reins of administration. After his death, his son P'a-ch'ieh-ta-lo (i.e. Bhagadatta) ascended the throne. The regalia of the state was similar to those of India, but more interesting details are furnished regarding the state of Ch'ih-t'u, which lay in the vicinity of Kelantan in north-eastern Malaya. In the royal audience hall, behind the king, was a shrine with a recumbent golden ox, which evidently refers to the bull Nandin. Thus, the king was Śaiva. It has been stated further that "several hundred Brāhmaṇas sit in rows facing each other on the eastern and western sides".[7] Keeping the upper part of the body of women bare in Langkasuka, as described in the Chinese texts, would remind us of the iconographic representation of female figures in contemporary India, in the temple architecture, in Ajantā frescoes and in other places. Indian music and musical instruments were in vogue in this kingdom. We are told that when the Chinese ambassadors came to the kingdom in 607, they were received in a gorgeous way and "a hundred men and women sounded conches and drums". When the ambassadors sat, "Indian music was played". Regarding the state of Tun-sun, the Chinese texts refer to its large Brahmin population. It was also a business centre. The history of the Liang Dynasty tells us that "To its market people came from East and West, and it is daily visited by 10,000 men[8]". Religious toleration prevailed in ancient Malaya. This is reflected in the Chinese texts. It has been stated, for instance, that in 527, 530 and 536, the Hinduized ruler of Pan Pan sent accredited envoys to China to present, among other things, a tooth of the Buddha, painted stūpas, leaves of the Bo tree, etc. It has been stated that there were ten monasteries in the state, where the Buddhist monks and nuns studied their canon.[9] Tan Tan also supplied the religious needs of China in this respect.[10]

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[5] Wales, *The Making of the Greater India*, 34.

[6] Wheatley, *Golden Khersonese*, 194.

[7] Text with translation has been quoted by Wheatley, *op. cit.*, 28.

From Takua pa to Tāmbraliṅga in the Caiya district on the opposite coast, there lay a route with traces of Indian penetration along the route.[11] The most important Indian settlement on this coast was Nakhon Sri Dhammarat on the Bay of Bandon. This was mainly a Buddhist colony dominated by a great stūpa, with 50 temples surrounding it. A little to the north lay the settlement of Caiya, referred to earlier, which seems to have been originally Brāhmaṇical, but later on became Buddhist. Perhaps this was due to the influence of the

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[8] Groeneveldt, *Notes*, 119.

[9] Text and translation in Wheatley, *op. cit.*, 48-49. This is one of the rare instances about the existence of the order of nuns in Malaysia.

[10] The *Liang Shu*, chap. 54, f.16 recto and verso and *Nan-Shih*. chap. 78 f. 12 verso, quoted by Wheatley, *op. cit.*, 52-53.

[11] Vide in this connexion, Lajonquiera in *BCAI* (1909), 184-85; Claeys, *L'archeologie du Siam* in *BEFEO XXXI*, 378; Q. Wales in *IAL IX*, no. 1, 1-31 and *Towards Angkor*, 51 ff.; Wheatley, *op. cit.* 190 gives a map of the probable route of Indian migration in South-East Asia.

Śailendra rulers, who exercised authority over this region for many years. The Ligor inscription dated in 775 A.D.,[12] couched in Sanskrit language, refers to the construction of 3 brick temples for Buddhist divinities by Rājasthavira or royal chaplain Jayanta under instructions from the ruler of Śrīvijaya, while Adhimukti, a disciple and successor of Jayanta, built two more caityas.

In the days of Śrīvijayan hegemony from c. 800 to 1300, the Malay Peninsula was dotted with a number of city-states, forming something like a confederation of trading ports under the fostering care of the mother-state with the thalassic node at Kedah.[13] The Hinduized states continued to exist, till Malaya was gradually brought within the fold of Islam in the 15th century. This close contact between India and Malaya led to racial admixture in the region of Takua pa, Patalung and Nakhon Sri Dhammarat, where persons of Indian caste are seen even today.[14]

The earliest images of Malaya belong to the Amarāvatī school (2nd to 4th century), of which some specimens have also been found from Sumatra,[15] East Java,[16] Celebes,[17] Annam,[18] Thailand,[19] etc. The statuette of Buddha found by

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[12] Coedes in *BEFEO XVIII*, 5, 29-31 ; R. C. Majumdar in *JGIS I* (1934) 64-68 ; Chhabra, *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture*, 20-27.

[13] For discussion of all available data on Kedah, vide Wheatley, *op. cit.* 376, s.v. Kedah.

[14] Q. Wales, *Towards Angkor*, 76-77.

[15] The Amarāvatī School of Art flourished in the Godāvarī-Kṛṣṇā Valley of southern India and thereare four shifts in the evolution of this art, namely (a) the first period from 200 to 100 B.C. (b) the second period from 100 B.C. to 100 A.D. (c) the third period from c. 150 A D. to 200 A.D. and (d) the 4th period from 200 to 250 A.D. Vide Srinivasan in *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, 750-754. European scholars normally place the Āmarāvatī School of Ārt between the second and the fourth century.

[16] Schnitger, *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra* (1937) pl. I.

[17] Cohn, *Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens* (1925), 28.

[18] Bosch in *TBG* 73 (1933), 495-513 ; Barnet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, 31 and pl. 24.

[19] Rougier in *BCAI* (1912) 212-13 and Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 197.

Mrs. Q. Wales from Kedah appears to be affiliated to the Amarāvatī school, as the folds of its garments and low uṣṇīṣa would seem to testify.[20] Buddhist images have also been found in Vieng Sra,[21] Kedah,[22] Perak[23] and Caiya.[24] Bronze images of pure Gupta style have also been found in the Perak valley.[25] Images of standing Buddha from the 5th and 6th century have also been found. Some of the later specimens betray influences from South India as well as Pāla-Bengal. For example, while the fine eight-armed bronze Avalokiteśvara dredged up from the mine of Bidor betrays South Indian influences, two magnificent bronze statues of Lekeśvara discoverd outside the enclosure of Vat Phra That have been acclaimed by Coedes as very beautiful and one of them as "among the masterpieces of the sculpture of India and Indo-China". Both the images are superb specimens of the Pāla-art.[26] Votive tablets (oval pieces of baked clay plaque) ranging from the Gupta period to the 10th-11th century, with the image of Buddha or other Buddhist deities, have been found in different places of Malaya.

Some Brāhmaṇical images have been found in the west coast of Malaya. Of the more important ones, one may refer to a small brick shrine, located in an islet off Takua pa, "which had housed a four-armed stone image of Viṣṇu, well over natural height and coiled with cylindrical mitre".[27] The image dates from the 6th or 7th century and belongs to the Gupta School of Art. Further South, at Kuala Selingsing in the Matang district of Perak, was discovered the famous cornelian seal of Viṣṇuvarman with legends in Pallava-Grantha characters from 5th or 6th century. The seal is believed to depict an image of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, but this is not so obvious.[28] Another image of Viṣṇu from Caiya has been modelled on the Gupta style. Some other Viṣṇu images have been found from the Srivisay Hill between Surat and Bandon and from Vieng Sra. Dupont has observed that in spite of characterization of ankle-length robe and cylindrical mitre, the less well-modelled Viṣṇu-images found at Vieng Sra and Surat are later local imitations.[29]

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[20] Vide *IAL XVI* (1942), 41 and Le May, *The Culture of South-East Asia*, 74 and fig 47.

[21] *IAL IX*, no. 1, pl. v(i).

[22] *JRAS* 1946. pl. XV, *JMBRAS* XX, no. 1, pls. i and ii.

[23] *JMBRAS*, XVIII, i (1940), 50.

[24] *Ibid*. Vide also Evans, *JFMSM*. XV, iii, 135, 136, pls. XLII, XLIV.

[25] Wales in *JMBRAS*, *XVIII*, i (1940), 50.

[26] *Ars Asiatica* XII, pls. 15 and 16.

[27] Dupont in *BEFEO XLI* (1941), 253-4 ; Wales, *Towards Angkor*, 45.

Images belonging to the Śaiva pantheon have also been found in Malaya. About 12 miles off from the estuary of the Takua pa river were discovered three Śaiva images of the Gaṅgadhara-group, betraying some affinity with South-Indian images from the 7th or 8th century.[30] Images of Durgā, Nandin, Gaṇeśa, etc., including terra cotta figures of some of these deites, have also been found in different places of Malaya.

India also contributed to the blossoming of a gay social life in ancient Malaya. Kaṭāha in western Malaya has been described in a Sanskrit work as "the City of all felicities".[31] Indian music was played at the royal court of Ch'ih-t'u on the occasion of the visit of the Chinese envoys to the royal court. In San-bo-tsai which may refer to Sumatran or Malayan port of the Śrīvijayan empire, the people made use of a small guitar and small drums, while slaves from Pulo Condore sang music for them by trampling on the ground, as represented on some temple-reliefs in India.[32]

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[28] JMBRAS XII, i (1934). 4. Chhabra in *JASBL* (1935) assigns it to the 8th century, while, according to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa* 1, 81, it is to be dated in the 5th century A. D. Reproduction of the seal may be seen in Chhabra, *op. cit.*, pl. 5, figs. 3 and 4.

[29] *BEFEO*, XLI, ii, pls. XXVIII and XXXI.

[30] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in *JMBRAS*, XXII (1949), 27. 30.

[31] Wheatley, *op. cit.*, 273-281, particularly, 280.

[32] For Pulo Condore, vide Groeneveld *Notes*. 63. For illustrations, Vide V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, 3rd ed., pls. 73a, 83b, 127, 128, figs. A and C; also Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia* (1964). pls. 232, 40, 414.

(ii) *BORNEO*/KALIMANTAN

Meanwhile, new Indianized states were growing up in other parts of the Malayo-Indonesian world, such as Borneo/Kalimantan, Java and Bali. We shall first of all discuss the story of the Indianized states of Borneo/Kalimantan. A set of seven Sanskrit inscriptions discovered at Muara Kaman on the Mahakam river in the district of Kutei reveals the existence of a royal dynasty, of which the names of three generations of rulers, namely Kuṇḍuṅga, Aśvavarman, and Mūlavarman, have been recorded. The inscriptions, engraved on stone-yūpas or sacrificial pillars refer to the performance of *vahusuvarnaka* (much gold-offering)-ritual and the giving away of 20,000 kine to the Brāhmaṇas in the sacred ground of Vaprakeśvara. Other gifts include *jaladhenu*, *ghṛtadhenu*, *ākāśapradīpa* or sky-lamp, etc.[33] It may be noted in this connexion that, besides Muara Kaman, trace of Hinduization are also met with in other parts of this island, particularly by the side of the Kapuas, Rata and Mahakam rivers.

The Indianized society of Borneo/Kalimantan had votaries belonging to the sects of the Hindus and the Buddhists. This is reflected in the finds at Kombeng in the valley of the river Pantun, where the spade of the archaeologist unearthed the images of Śiva, Brahmā, Mahākāla, Gaṇeśa, Nandī, Kārtikeya, Agastya, Vajrapāṇi, etc. The majority of the images of Kombeng belong to the Śaivite pantheon. Of these images, that of Śiva is the best.[34] The Sarvasoma type of Mukhaliṇga of Sepauk (in Sintang) and some liṅgas and yonis found in different places of the island testify to the existence of Śaiva sects in these places.[35] Buddhism was also well-known in the island. One may refer in this connexion to Batu Pahat in

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33. Vogel in *BKI* 74 (1918), 167-232 ; Chhabra in *JGIS XII* (1945), 14-17, reprinted in *TBG LXXXIII* (1949), 370-74 and J. G. de Casparis in *India Antiqua* (1947), 77-82.
34. *OV*, 1925, 135-146, pls. 23-34 ; R. B. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa* II, pl. LXX, fig. 2.
35. Vide *BKI VI*, 2 (1891), 36 ff.

western Borneo near the springs of Sungei Tekarek, where series of umbrellas over what is possibly a miniature stūpa indicates the impact of Buddhism at least in certain parts of the island.[36] An important discovery in western Borneo was however the Sambas find,[37] now in the British Museum, comprising both gold and silver images, of which four pertain to Buddha and five to Avalokiteśvara. They have affinity with similar images from Malaya and may pertain to the 6th-7th century A. D. The standing Buddhas of the Sambas find, as also the one found at Santubong,[38] are affiliated to the Gupta style. The most beautiful Buddhist image from Borneo was the bronze figure of Buddha in the Gupta style found at Kota Bangun in the Kutei province.[39]

Besides the objects mentioned above, excavations in recent years have brought to light the Limbang hoard of gold objects, now in the Brunei Museum, and the so-called "Tāntrik Shrine" and other materials excavated at Bongkissam, Santubong, in the Sarawak River delta.[40] The Santubong-excavations have yielded what Harrisson and O'Connor have described as "the most dramatic of the delta finds so far". They include, among others, a man-made structure of stone : "the first such yet proven anywhere in Borneo". Among objects found in the Ritual Deposit Chamber are a Ritual Silver Deposit Box containing a solid gold liṅga and another 141 gold objects outside, but in association with the deposit box. Among the gold foil objects we find representations of lotuses, elephants, seated male figures in meditation, crescent moon, serpent, etc. High concentration of curious "Phallic tops" also attracted the attention of the excavators. Buddhist and Hindu religions have definitely been intermixed here. Harrisson and O'Connor have rightly concluded that "The delta excavations as a whole abundantly prove that this part of Borneo was locked securely into the great web of Asian trade as early as the T'ang dynasty." This Indo-Borneo contact may pertain to the 11th-12th century, at any rate, not later than the 13th, but this contact gradually waned off. In view of the extensive land-mass of Borneo and sparse population, the tiny dots of Indian settlements were probably lost in the population, but Chau Ju-kua writing in 1225 still found the people of Po-ni (Pu-ni or Western Borneo) worshipping Buddha in a pagoda-like structure. Borneo was partly and Malaya was substantially Indianized, but the former has left behind no literature which can be connected with the ancient period.

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[36] *JASBL*. i (1935), 41-44.

[37] *JMBRAS XXII*. iv (1949), pls. 1-6, pp. 33-110.

[38] Vide Griswold in *Sarawak Museum Journal* X (1962) pp. 19-20, 363-71 ; S.J.O'Connor in *Ibid*, (1964) pp. 23-24, 565-66.

[39] *ABIA*, 1926 pl. XI ; Bernet Kempers, *op cit*., 49 and pl. 97.

[40] Vide T. Harrisson and S. J. O'Connor in *Sarawak Museun Journal*, XV (1967 pp. 201-222, with plates.

CHAPTER VII

INDONESIA

The reference to Iabadieu or Sabadieu by Ptolemy, Yavadvīpa by Vālmīki, Ye-t'iao, Ye-p'o-t'i and Cho-p'o by Chinese annalists[1] seem to indicate that some parts of Indonesia, if not Java, were known under the above-mentioned names to foreigners. All thesevariations being derived from Sanskrit Yavadvīpa, one can definitely assert that from the second century onwards one of the islands of Indonesia was known by the Indian name. It has been stated in a Chinese text that Tiao-pien (Devavarman) sent an embassy to China in 132. Inscriptional data, however, appear only from the first half of the 5th century referring to king Pūrṇavarman of Tārūma in West Java.[2] The king's father and grand-father have respectively been called Rājādhirāja and Rājarṣi. The inscriptions numbering four are written in Sanskrit verses and in Pallava-Grantha character. These inscriptions leave the impression of a Hinduized society in the western part of Java. The Introduction of Hinduism in the eastern part of Java also occurred at about the same time, as another record in Pallava-Grantha character has been discovered from Rambipuji.[3]

In later centuries, we come across the names of several states flourishing in the central part of Java. Of these, an important one was Ho-ling, usually believed to be the corrupt form of Kaliṅga.[4] It was a notable centre for the cultivation

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1. Scholars are not unanimous whether the term should refer to Java Java-Sumatra, Malaya or Borneo/Kalimantan, but the larger number seems to favour the first identification.
2. For these inscriptions, vide H. B. Sarkar, *Corpus of the inscriptions of Java. I*, no. 1.
3. *BKI*, 95 (1917), 397ff.
4. Groeneveldt, Notes, 13-15. For its identity and other relevant matters, vide H. B. Sarkar, *Some Contributions*, 39ff. with litera-

of Buddhist scholarship. The political greatness of Central Java is, however, due to emergence of the dynasty of king Sanna and his more famous son Sañjaya, king of Mataram, who installed a Śiva-liṅga on the Vukir hill in 732.[5] The details available regarding Ho-ling and Mataram leave the impression of a Hinduized society. There is then a gap in our knowledge of Central Java for some years till we find the Śailendra dynasty firmly established in power in that region.

Various theories have been propounded regarding the origin of the Śailendra dynasty and these have been well summarised by K.A.N Sastri.[6] Suffice it to say that the the origin of Śailendra dynasty cannot be definitely connected, on the basis of the present data, with any of the known dynasties of Kaliṅga, South India or Funan, nor with Ur-Indonesian ideas about divinity later on Hinduized. It is not unlikely that the Śaivite king Sañjaya's successor, Panangkaran, the Panaraban of the *Carita Parhyangan* and son of Sañjaya, became a Buddhist and ascended the throne with the *abhiṣeks*-name of Indra and thereby became the founder of the dynasty,[7] thus making a complete break with the past, as some inscriptions seem to testify. Whatever we may think regarding the origin of the Śailendra dynasty, there is no doubt that there was effloresence of Indo-Javanese culture in Central Java during the rule of the Śailendras (c. 778=c. 856).

After the last Śailendra ruler of Java, namely Bālaputradeva, left for Sumatra, there was a Hindu revival in Central Java, but the period of its greatness was over. The centre of political gravity shifted to East Java with the accession of Siṇḍok in 929, Here his successors ruled, till East Java was divided between two sons of king Airlaṅga (1019-42). The new states came to be known as Pañjalu and Jaṅgala, of which the latter one gradually disintegrated. The capital of the former was Kadiri or Daha, whose rulers were great patrons of art and

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ture cited therein.

[5] For the inscriptions, vide H. B. Sarkar. *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*. no. III.

[6] *History of Śrīvijava* (1949). 46-50.

[7] H. B. Sarkar, *Some Contributions*, 42ff.

literature. The last ruler of Kadiri was defeated by Ken Angrok, the chief of Tumapel, in the battle of Ganter in 1222 and he ascended the throne under the coronation-name of Rājasa. He reunited the two states of Eastern Java, with Singasari as the capital. His successors ruled the country till 1292, when prince Vijaya seized the throne and laid the foundation of the Majapahitan empire, which disintergrated in the midst of intrigues, bloodshed and battles in the beginning of the 16th century.

These rulers of Java were Indianised to a very large extent and the elites of the country adopted, to speak in general terms, the Indian way of life. This Indian culture was spread not only by the Indian settlers and the native women married by them, but also by the community of traders, both Indian and Indianized, as well as by the Brāhmaṇas and Buddhist missionaries. The kraton, the archeological sites where temples were located and the rivers were the principal radiating centres for the dissemination of this Indian culture, but its influence grew less as it met ever-widening circle of autochthonous tribes.

The society of Indonesia was, at least in the higher circles, patterned after the theory of *caturvarṇa* and *caturāśrama* (four varṇas or castes and four stages of life) of ancient India, and many inscriptions of Java refer to these institutions. It was, however, found difficult to adjust these institutions to the tribal way of life. Some of the old Javanese legal texts betray this dilemma of the situation. As Java has now accepted Islam, the caste system of ancient India, as was prevalent in the Hindu Javanese period, can best be studied in the island of Bali and parts of Lombok.[8] Here the Hindu society has been classified into four castes, of which the first three came to be known as the *trivangsa* but the *śūdras* or the non-trivangsa people evidently constituted the majority. A Brahmin child is a Brahmin by birth, but after ordination he becomes a pandaṇḍa, a sūrya.[9]

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[8] For the caste system of Bali, vide Lekkerkerker, *De Kastenmaatschappij in Britisch-Indie en op Bali*, in *Mensch en Scappij, II* (1926).

[9] Vide Kern, *The Consecration of a Priest in Bali : Life, thought and ritual*, 133 ff.

The pandaṇḍas or priests of Bali, whether belonging to the category of Śaiva or Buddhist class, claim descent from the Brāhmaṇa caste. On account of their descent, training and identity with god-heads, they dominate the religious and cultural life of Bali.

The tribal base was, however, exceedingly strong in Indonesia. In this set-up, the status of the king was very high, because, whether he was a Buddhist or Hindu, the theory of divine kingship, as formulated by the Brāhmaṇas, was adopted, but how far to the satisfaction of the native sentiments cannot be determined at present. The kings bore Sanskrit coronation-names. They sometimes adopted the life of a recluse, to which even princesses were sometimes drawn. One may recall in this connexion the case of king Airlaṅga's daughter[10] and of queen Gāyatrī, better known as Rājapatnī.[11] Polygamy was practised,[12] as in India, but the degree of prohibition in relation to marriage was rather too close, as Aji Jayanagara's marriage with his step-sister would demonstrate. According to the *Pararaton*, the princess Bhre Kahuripan married according to the *svayamvara-system* (bride choosing the husband in a ceremonial gathering of the suitors). There are examples of widow-remarriage[13] as well as of suttee or self-immolation of the widow.[14] The funeral rites in the Hindu societies of Bali now constitute its greatest ceremony. After a preliminary burial to afford time for collection of money, the body is disinterred and carried to the cremation ground in *bade* or funeral towers. After the body or what is left of it is burnt, the ashes are collected, as in India, and carried for immersion. A graphic description of the *śrāddha*-ceremony of Rājapatnī in 1362 has been immortalised in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama.*[15]

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[10] Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis (second edition)*, 269 with literature cited in f. n. 1.

[11] Details in H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit*, 144.

[12] Kern, *VG* VII,13; *BKI* 95 (1937), 441 ff.

[13] A Classical example is that of Dedes, the first queen of Singhasari.

[14] Vide Pigeaud, *Java in the fourteenth century, IV*, 488. For the funeral ceremonies and the cult of the dead, vide Crucq, *Bijdragen tot de kennis van het Balisch dooden ritueel*, 1928; Wirz, *Der totenkult auf Bali*, 1928 ; also, *Studies in life, thought and ritual*, 1960 (Ed. Wertheim).

In the sphere of religion, Śaivism occupied the highest place of honour in Central Java, followed by Buddhism, to judge by their references in Old-Javanese inscriptions, archaeological explorations and the evidence of sculptures. Of the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā appears nowhere in the inscriptions of Central Java, except thrice in the imprecatory formula and once in a comparison where he has been called Trivikrama] Viṣṇu (Trivikrama) has seven times been mentioned in the inscriptions of Central Java, but mainly in the imprecatory formula of Old-Javanese inscriptions. Temples were dedicated to him, as at Loro Jonggram, but in the first millenium of the Christian era, Viṣṇuism was not the most popular religion of Indonesia. Religious syncretism was, however, widely prevalent. Thus developed the cult of Hari-Hara, which was reflected not only in iconography but also in real life. King Āirlaṅga, for example, was identified in his mundane life with Bhatār Guru, thus Śiva, but after his death he became an incarnation of Viṣṇu, as his Belahan image would testify. The satellite gods of the Sivaite pantheon, such as Durga, Agastya, Nandin, Ganeśa, etc., and of the Viṣṇuite pantheon, such as Sri, Garuḍa, etc., received their due share of honour.

Buddhism also played a very important role in Indonesia. Hīnayāna of the Mūlasarvāstivāda first appeared on the scene, but it was soon replaced by Mahāyāna. In the second half of the 7th century, Ho-ling in Central Java and Palembang in South-eastern Sumatra became important centres of Buddhist scholarship. When the Śailendras firmly established themselves in Central Java, Mahāyāna Buddhism saw its palmy days. The noblest creation of the Śailendras, in the field of architecture, was the stūpa of Barabudur. As in eastern India, there was gradual approximation between Tāntrik Śaivism and Vajrayāna. If we link up the Nālandā-Śrīvijaya-Śailendra-Barabudur set-up with the Caṅgal-Dinaja-Loro Jonggrang complex, we shall

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15. *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, cantos 63-69.

arrive on theoretical and general considerations to the 8th and 9th centuries. when this religious synthesis was worked out in Central Java. This gradually led to the evolution of the Śiva-Buddha cult.[16] The Śaiva stream seems to have pertained to the Pāśupata school of thought, while the Buddhist stream to the Vajradhara school. Both these schools were flourishing in contemporary Eastern India.

Sectarian Śaivism had also their hey-days in Java and inscriptions refer to the sect of the Bhairavas, some members of which occupied imporrant places in the administrative set-up of the country.[17] There were also other Śivaite sects, but neither their identity nor their number has been satisfactorily determined.[18] There is hardly any doubt that the East-Javanese phase of Śaivism represented Tāntrism, which, with its emphasis on Śāktism, had already established itself in India by the 10th century A.D. It is difficult to assign any date for the introducduction of Śakti or female element into the Tantrik-cult of Java, but 10th-11th century would be a reasonable guess. In this cult, the male and the female worshipper, the Bhairava and the Bhairavī, the Śiva and the Śakti, the macrocosm and the microcosm are united in ritualistic sexual embrace. The cult seems to have been more directed to control the forces of Nature than to attain salvation.[19]

In the mainland of India, Vajrayāna was equally degenerating into various sects, such as Sahajayāna, Mantrayāna, Kālacakrayāna, etc. Of these sects, the Kālacakrayāna seems to have gained considerable votaries in Bengal towards the end of the Pāla-period[20] Late vestiges of this cult have been found in both Java and Sumatra. The statue of Amoghapāśa, which

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16. H.B. Sarkar. *op. cit.*, 172 ff.
17. *Ibid*, 158, with literature cited therein.
18. For particulars vide *Ibid*, 159 ff.
19. For an exposition of Śāktism. vide Barth, *The Religions of India* 199 ff; R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism. Śaivism and Minor Religious systems* (1965-ed.). pp. 142-147.
20. Coedes, *The Indianized States*, 199.
21. Moens in *TBG, LXI* (1924), 558-79.

was transported to Sumatra in 1286, represents an important step in the development of Kālacakrayāna in Indenesia.[21] King Kṛtanagara of Java (1268-92) and king Ādityavarman of Sumatra (1347-1375) have been described as staunch adherents of the cult.[22]

In the domain of art and architecture, the impact of India has been profound, but native genius has also left its imprint. Here also, art has been the hand-maid of religion. The earliest remains of art are to the found in the Dieng plateau, about 6,500 ft. about the sea-level, in Central Java, where several temples have been separately dedicated to some well-known figures of *Mahābhārata*, such as Arjuna, Puntadeva (Yudhiṣṭhira), Bhīma, Nakula-Sahadeva, Ghaṭotkaca, etc.[23] The earliest dated temple of Java is the Caṇḍi Kalasan in the Prambanan Valley. The false porches of temple have developed into chapels creating a cruciform appearance. It was constructed by orders of a Śailendra king and dedicated to Tārā, but the image has disappeared.[24] To the north of Kalasan lies Caṇḍi Sari, with the usual Kāla-Makara motif and rich decorations but vacant niches. Other Buddhist temples of the valley include 17 temples of the Caṇḍi Lumbung complex, besides Candi Sevu, which is the biggest Buddhist sanctuary after Barabudur. The Caṇḍi Sevu group consists of 250 temples, of which the main temple occupied the central position. The wealth of decorations is of variegated pattern, but most of the images have disappeared. To the North-East of Caṇḍi Sevu lies Caṇḍi Plaosan, which has beautiful images of Dhyānī Buddha and Bodhisattva. Beast-fables from the *Pañcatantra-Jātaka*-stories and the *Tantri*-texts have been protrayed in the relief-panels of Caṇḍi Śajiven, which lies about a mile to the South-East of Prambanan. It is believed by some scholars that the complicated foliage designs of Central Java might have got its inspiration from the Eastern School of Art.[25] Speaking in general terms, here the impulses of the Gupta style have converged on the Pallava and Pāla-styles.

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[22] Krom, *op. cit.*, 336, 393-94; Coedes, *op. cit.*, 199,243 and Moens *op, cit*. The photo of the statue of Amoghapāśa may be seen. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, photo no. 260.

[23] Bernet Kempers, *op. cit*. 32-34 and pls. 25-29. Regarding the art and architecture of Central Java, vide also Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst* I, 168-205; R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvpa II*, 165ff.

[24] Description and other particulars in Krom, *op.cit* , 257-64.

The most outstanding creation of Javanese art is the famous stūpa of Barabudur, lying in the Kedu plains.[26] It has been fashioned out of a rock, but in design, execution, massiveness, and grandeur, it is a phenomenon by itself and its only counterpart we can think of is the Angkor Vat of Kambuja. According to the latest investigation, it seems to have been constructed during the reign of Samarottuṅga (c. 782-812). The stūpa has nine successive receding terraces, one superimposed on the other, with a terminal stūpa placed on the topmost terrace. There are eleven series of sculptured panels in the galleries and their total number would be nearly 1,500. These panels illustrate stories from the *Karmavibhaṅga*, the *Jātakamālā*, the *Avadānaśataka*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, etc. The sculptor has reached the highest excellence in the execution of the detached images, decorative motifs and narrative reliefs. According to some scholars, the proto-type of Barabudur existed in India and many of the sculptures remind one of the finesse of the Gupta sculpture. Revelling in the free movement of the joints at different angles, many of the sculptures represented on the balustrades of Barabudur, even as at Loro Jonggrang to be described below, remind one of their kinship with the sculptural work of Pāhāḍpur.[26]

The Śivaite counterpart of Barabudur is the Loro Jonggrang group of temples, but this is much less imposing. The whole complex consisted of 156 temples, with 8 main temples enclosed within a common wall, with three rows of minor temples around the wall on each side, creating almost a Tāntrik circle. The biggest temple contains an image of Śiva, while the northern and the southern temples are dedicated to Viṣṇu and Brahmā respectively. The sculptures pertaining to the complex reveal high aesthetic sense. The magnificent Kāla-Makara motif, lotus-vases with spiral leaves, the Kinnara-motif and figures on the balustrades of the main temple represent the best traditions of Indo-Javanese art. Loro Jonggrang has, however, gained international fame on account of its magnificent *Rāmāyaṇa*-reliefs from the beginning of the story to the expedition of the monkey-hordes and others to Laṅkā. The remaining part of the story was presumably continued in the neighbouring Brahmā temple.[27]

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[25] Q. Wales, *The Making of Greater India*, 106

[26] There is a vast literature on Barabudur. Of the more substantial ones, reference may be made to Krom and Van Erp, *Beschrijving van Borobudur* (1920); P. Mus, *Barabudur, Esquissed'un histoire du Buddhisme fondee sur la critique archaeologique des textes*, in *BEFEO*, *XXXII-XXXIV* (1932-34). A Small useful work is Stutterheim's *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology* (1956), 5-62.

The art and architecture of East Java continued the traditions of Central Java, but these underwent certain changes inherent in the growth of a virile art, which became growingly Indonesian, but the temples of East Java like those at Badut, Besuki and Gunung Gangsir continued to enshrine Brāhmaṇical gods and goddesses. The earliest dated monument of East Java is the tomb and bathing enclosure called Jalatuṇḍa, opposite which lies the bathing enclosure at Belahan. Here has been found one of the finest images of Indonesia, an image of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, which is believed to be the deified portrait of king Airlaṅga.[28]

One of the earliest temples of the Singasari period(1222-1292) is the Śivaite temple of Kidal which houses a magnificent image of Śiva ; it is believed to be a portrait of k ng Anūṣanātha (d.1248).[29] Two other structures of the Singasari period also offer interesting study from the Indian point of view. They are Candi Singasari and Candi Jago.[30] The former is a Śivaite temple. Here the porches, almost lost at Kidal, reappears to give the temple of Singasari a cruciform plan, which we find in more pronounced form during the Pāla-period. Characteristic Indian foliage designs are also found again on the door jambs of Candi Jago.[31] The Indian *makara* also survive, but merely as trace-mark in the medallions by the door-side. The Candi Jago is, on the other hand, a Buddhist temple, the principal deity of the temple being Amoghapāśa. The deity represents the portrait of king Viṣṇuvardhana who was cremated here in 1268.[32] All the Dhyānī Buddhas and their Śaktis are also represented here, thus emphasising the Tāntrik character of Javanese Buddhism of the late 13th century. Stories from *Pārthayajna*, *Arjunavivāha*, *Kālavavanāntaka*, etc., have been depicted here on the walls of the temple. The last representative of Singasari art is the image of Prajnāpāramitā, believed to be the portrait of queen Dedes, consort of Rājasa, the first ruler of Singasari.[33] Another fine piece of sculpture is the image of Hari-Hara of Simping, which is generally believed to represent the features of king Kṛtarājasa.[34]

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[27] Kats, *Het Rāmāyaṇa op Javaansche tempel reliefs*; Stutterhe *Rāma legenden und Rāma reliefs in Indonesien.* Plates-volume and R. C. Majumdar *op. cit.* pls. XX-XXI.

[28] Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst II*, 39-44. For description and plates, vide De Haan, *OV*, 1924 and Berne Kempers, *op.cit.*, 70 and pl.202. See also Bosch, *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, 47-107.

[29] Krom, *op.cit.*, 57-66; *BKI*, 89 (1932), 12 ff and plate; *Ars Asiatica VII*, pl. 34

The art-traditions of the Singasari period imperceptively blended with those of the Majapahit period. The Candi Suravana reveals Śivaite characteristics and has sculptured panels portraying the story of the *Arjunavivāha*. The most famous temple of East Java is, however, the temple-complex of Panataran,

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30. Brandes, *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari* (1909); *Beschrijving van ruine bij de desa Toempang-genaamd Tjandi Djago* (1904); Krom, *op. cit.*, 70-130, pls 50-63; Blom, *The Antiquities of Singasari*, 1939 and Bernet-Kempers, *op.cit.*, 78 ff and pls. 232-242 and pp. 84 ff. and pls. 249-257
31. Wales, *op.cit.*, 118.
32. The head of the statue has been lost.
33. Krom, *Op.cit.*, 88-89, pl. 54; R. C. Majumdar, *op.cit.*, pl. XXXIV; Bernet Kempers, *op.cit.*, 75 and pl. 222.
34. Krom, *op. cit.*, 165-67, pl. 65; R. C. Majumdar, *op.cit.*, 292, pl. XXXVI.

which seems to have been built on the site of an earlier Śaiva temple called Palah.[35] The main structure seems to have been built in the early years of the 14th century.[36] The temple was dedicated to Śiva, but loose images of Brahmā, Śrī and some other deities have also been found. Stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Kṛṣṇāyana* have been delineated here in flat low relief.[37] The architecture of the post-Majapahitan period is not impressive, but isolated images found at Suku, Penampihan and some other places indicate the continuity of Indian religious tradition. These sculptural works represent liṅga, yoni, Śiva, Durgā, Gaṇeśa, Garuḍa, Tortoise, etc. Images of minor deities have also been found in Java, such as those of Yama, Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, Kuvera, the eight Dikpālas, Sūrya, Candra, Kāma, etc. Some of the latest inscriptions even refer to the consecration of the images of Rāma, Ṛṣi Bharadvāja, etc. and to the worship of Yama, Rāma, Viṣṇu and Durgā.[38]

When we take a broad view of the architecture of East Java, it would appear that this art has lost the fine balance between construction and decoration which were beautifully matched in Central Java. A meaningless superfluity of ornamentation vitiated the whole artistic climate. The introduction of clowns and some apparitions of the Malayo-Indonesian folk-lore world, jostling with strange figures imported from Hindu and Buddhist stories, religions or otherwise, created an art which, in the literary world, was somewhat akin to or matched by the Tantu Panggelaran.

The architectural remains of the neighbouring island of Bali is rather unimpressive, but their number is large. It has been calculated that the number of large and important Hindu (and Buddhist) temples in Bali is 4,661, of which the largest one is

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[35] Krom, *op. cit* , 246.

[36] *Ibid.* 245.

[37] *Ibid.* 256, 258-59, 262-64.

[38] *OJO XCIII*; Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 451 and *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst I*, 366-72, 387; Stutterheim in *Bulletin of Raffles Museum, series B, vol, I*, no. 3,1937, 147.

Pura Besaki.[39] It is now associated with the Hindu Trinity, but it is believed by some to have been a Buddhist sanctuary in the 10th century A.D. In the rock-cut monastery called Goa Gaja (Guha Gaja : Cave elephant), there are Gaṇeśa images and liṅgas in some niches.

There are many temples of small dimensions meant for the family, the clan or the realm. With the Hinduization of Bali and under the inspiration of the royal courts, a high degree of architectural unity in temple construction developed in Bali, of which the large ones contain altars, chapels, offering pavilions, assembly hall, offering kitchen, guest houses, etc. Some of the offering pavilions have sometimes their walls decorated with stories from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The largest structures of the inner courts are the multiple roofed merus, which are dedicated not only to the gods of the Hindu Trinity, but also to many mountain-deities. As regards sculptures, the earliest specimens are provided by Buddhist figures in clay-tablets of the 8th-9th centuries betraying Indian influences of the late Gupta period. During the 8th-10th centuries, Indo-Javanese art made some impact on Balinese sculptural art, of which a fine specimen is provided by the Bedulu image of Śiva.[40] Among other types of sculptural art, a spout in the form of a female figure[41] has deservedly received the high praise of the art-critics. In some miniature caṇḍis of Bali, we see in the external niches of the four sides images of Durgāmahiṣāsuramardinī, Gaṇeśa, ṛṣi, etc. A large number of liṅgas, mukhaliṅgas, aṣṭamukhaliṅgass, yonis, catuḥkāya image of Trimūrti, Nṛsiṃha killing Hiraṇyakaśipu, etc., have been found. The late period of Indo-Balinese art from the 13th-14th century presents, among others, sculptures from Pejeng combining four figures in one unit, with emblems of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.[42] A beautiful sacred vessel depicting the Churning

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39. Goris in *Djawa, XVII (1937)*, 261-80.
40. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pl. LIV ; Stutterheim, *Indian Influences on Old-Balinese Art*, fig. II.
41. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, 315 and pl. LV, fig. 3.
42. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, 318 and pl. LVI, fig. 3 ; Stutterheim, *op. cit*, fig. 49.

of the Milk Sea, possibly dating from 1329, also deserves attention.[43]

Architectural remains from Sumatra are rather poor and late in point of time. Two Śivaite temples, now lying in ruins not far off from Palembang may be referred to the 9th or 10th century A.D. The Malagai-stūpa of Muara Takus[44] (11th-12th century) has been compared by Stutterheim[45] with the Pāla-style stūpa of Giryek.[46] The decorations and sculptural reliefs of the stūpas of Muara Takus and Padang Lavas (12th-14th century) as well as the dancing figures at Padang Lavas recall some of the best traditions of Indian art.[47]

The earliest phase of Śrīvijayan sculptural art is, however, represented in the granite Buddha image found on the Seguntang hill.[48] The stone image of Avalokiteśvara from the Palembang division and bronze image of the same deity and of Buddha and Maitreya found near the confluence of the Komering and Musi rivers reflect the influence of Indian art.[49] Two Buddha images from Jambi,[50] as also the damaged Bangka-head of Viṣṇu, both probably dating from the 7th century, seem to be affiliated to the Gupta art-traditions. These are really beautiful specimens of Indo-Sumatran Art. The Palembang Bodhisattvas in their conception, design and some other details, remind one of the Pāḷa art of Bengal. The Buddhist images of Biara (Vihāra) Bahal I & II, Padang I avas, Tapanuli are executed in the Pāla-pattern, but the bronze female figure within the enclosure of Biara Bahal I may represent South Indian style.[51]

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[43] R. C. Majumder, *op. cit.*, 319 and pls. LVIII-LIX.

[44] Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*, pl. X.

[45] *Tjandi Baraboedoer*, 61.

[46] *IA XXX*, pl. i, 84.

[47] Vide Schnitger, *op. cit.*, pls. XXXIII-XXXV.

[48] Some would refer it to the Amarāvatī school, others to the Mathurā school. For a discussion on the subject. vide *ABIA*, 1931, 32.

[49] *OV*, 1930, pl 45 ; *ABIA*, 1931, pl. X, c, d, e ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, 325, pl. LXIII, figs. c, d, e.

[50] Schnitger, *op. cit.*, 7.

[51] *OV*, 1930, bijl. C ; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in JGIS III (1936), 104-7.

Tantrik influence, particularly of the Kālacakrayāna-school, of which the philosophy was laid by the moks of Nālandā, left its imprint on Indo-Sumatran art. The dancing figure of Heruka[52] from the main temple of Biaro Bahal II and the Amoghapāśa group of image brought from Java in 1286 under orders of king Kṛtanagara and reconsecrated under orders of king Ādityavarman in 1347 doubtless belong to the Tāntrik school of thought, as also the four-armed Tārās (found at Gunung Tua in Tapanuli).[53] But the most horrible was the Bhairava-image, believed by some to be the portrait of king Ādityavarman himself. It was found from a site lying to the West of Sungai Langsat. Here we find the main figure, standing on a prostrate figure, with knife and skull in his hands, snakes on wrists and ankles. In the tall coiffure sits Akṣobhya.

When we survey this art as well as the art of other countries of South-East Asia as a whole, we may well recall now, the the famous lines of Marshall, who wrote,[54] "To know Indian art in India alone, is to know but its story. To apprehend it to the full, we must follow it in the wake of Buddhism (I should like to add; and Hinduism) to Central Asia, China and Japan; we must watch it assuming new forms and breaking into new beauties as it spreads over Tibet and Burma and Siam; we must gaze in awe at the unexampled grandeur of its creations in Cambodia and Java. In each of these countries Indian art encounters a different racial genius, a different local environment and under their modifying influence it takes cn a different garb. Therefore the art of each and every one of these countries is complementary to the rest and a knowledge of each……is indispensable to our understanding of the whole."

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52. *OV*, 1930, pl. 41.
53. According to an inscription on the pedestal, it was made bv the sculptor Sūrya in 1024.
54. In "Foreword" to Le May's *A Concise History af Buddhist Art in Siam.*

THE INDIANIZED LITERATURE OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

CHAPTTER VIII

A linguistic introduction.

In studying the Indianized literature of South-East Asia, an author is confronted with the unenviable task of getting acquainted with several classical languages of this vast region and works on them in several European languages. This appears to be beyond the capacity of one single person. One has, therefore, the option to learn one or two of the important classical languages of this region and depend for others on translation of basic materials by modern scholars in different European or Asian languages. This is only one aspect of the problem; the other refers to the basic materials themselves, which still lie, for the major part, in MSS. The uneven progress of research work regarding the ancient literature of South-East Asia has left vast gap in certain areas of our knowledge of the regional ancient literature. The result of this imbalance has been reflected in this work also, as the treatment of the Indianized literature of Burma and Indonesia is fuller than that of other countries of South-East Asia. Before we take up the subject of our study proper, it is perhaps necessary to have some idea regarding the linguistic map of South-East Asia as a whole.

The people of the mainland of South-East Āsia, mainly belonging to the Austro-Asiatic group, and those of Island Asia, usually described as the Austronesians, have developed, in spite of their common linguistic origin, certain literary differences on account of their environmental situation, but these have nothing to do with racial affinities or otherwise of these people. The linguistic map of the mainland of South-East Asia, therefore, presents the pattern of a mosaic. Burmese, for exampie, is spoken in the lower valleys of the Irrawaddy and the Sittang, while Mon holds sway in lower Burma, the Suvarṇabhūmi of our classical literature. If we now turn our attention to Thailand, it will appear that Siamese is spoken in the lower valley of the Menam and on the eastern tracts of the Malay Peninsula, while Laotian holds sway in the Korat plateau and in the central region of the Mekong Valley. In the lower Mekong Valley and in the basin of the Great Lake is spoken Cambodian, while Vietnamese holds sway in the Red River region, the Mekong deltas and the coastal region between the hills and the China Sea. The Cām language is spoken in the Phan-rang and Phan-ri regions of South Vietnam. These are the most important national languages of South-East Asian mainland which felt the impact of Indian language and literature, but before I turn to the Austronesian languages of Island-Asia, it would be interesting to survey briefly the kaleidoscopic changes in the linguistic pattern of ancient South-East Asia, due to complex factors, and its transition to the modern set-up.

If we study the ancient inscriptions of South-East Asia, it will appear that in many parts of Burma, where Burmese is spoken now, the prevalent language was then Pyu, a branch of the Burmese language, while Mon was the prevalent form of speech in certain areas of the Lower Menam Valley and in the Burmese deltas. So far as Thailand and Laos are concerned, the Siamese and Laotian languages have not left any trace for the early period, but T'ai was probably in use in the upper region of the Menam and Mekong Valleys. The distribution of old Khmer inscriptions indicates that Khmer was not only prevalent in Kambuja, but was also spoken in the Mekong delta, the Korat plateau and in certain sections of the lower Menam Valley. Cām was spoken in the coastal areas of Indo-China, but historical reasons and racial displacements pushed this linguistic group gradually towards the South. Vietnamese was coming into use in the spurs south of Hoanhson. Inscriptional evidence thus indicate the expansion of the linguistic domain of Burmese, Siamese, Laotian and Vietnamese, the drift being towards the lower courses of the rivers concerned and the sea-outlet. For our present purpose, it is not necessary to get into the dialects of these various languages, but it is worthwhile to mention in passing that these languages of continental South-East Asia are usually set up in a bigger linguistic canvas. Thus, Burmese as well as some dialects of that country have been brought within the nexus of the Tibeto-Burman family, while the Mon-Khmer group of languages has been related to the Munda languages of India. The T'ai family of languages is not only related to the Ahom language of Assam, the Shan language of Burma, Siamese and Laotian, but also to some of the dialects of Vietnam and the Chinese provinces of Yunnan and its vicinity, whence the T'ais were driven out several centuries back. Cām, Rhade and Jarai dialects have affinity with the Indonesian family of languages.

In Island-Asia, there are about 250 languages, including dialects, which spread over an area of continental dimension, from Formosa in the north to New Zealand in the south and from Madagascar in the west to Easter Island, west of Chile, in the east, including, besides, part of the Malacca peninsula and perhaps certain tracts of continental Asia, but excluding Australia, New Guinea (except the coastal part) and some other islets in the Pacific and the region where Papuan idioms are spoken.[1] Although the languages of South-East Asia present the pattern of a mosaic, Island-Asia is rather homogeneous in this respect, as these hundreds of languages are attuned to similar discipline in regard to syntax, morphology and phonetic rules. These languages and dialects have been classified into 16 principal groups by Dr. Gonda.[2] We shall now make a

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1. Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia,* 8.
2. For the linguistic map of the Indonesian languages and other particulars, vide among others (a) Esser. *Atlas van Tropisch Naderland,* 1938, (Batavia) ; (b) Ensink in Winkler-Prins, *Algemeene Encyclopaedie* (Amsterdam), s.v. Indonesischetalen ; (c) R. Hardjawiraja and M. Koesrin, *Ajo manjang Kolonisasi,* 1940 (Batavia) ; (d) Gonda, *op. cit.* ; (e) Voorhoeve, *Language of Sumatra,* 1955 (f) Cense and Uhlenbeck, *Critical Survey of the languages of Borneo,* 1958 ; (g) Uhlenbeck, *A Critical Survey of the Studies on the Language of Java and Sumatra,* 1954, with literature cited in all these works.

brief survey of these languages.

In Sumatra, there are about fifteen languages, of which Achehnese and Gayo are spoken in the northern tracts, while Batak idioms and Minangkabau are spoken in the central parts. Of other Sumatran languages, the so-called Middle Malay dialects and Lampong idioms hold sway in the south. Malay dialects are also spoken in the eastern parts of Sumatra, Malay Peninsula and some adjacent islands. In western Java, the people speak the Sundanese language, with certain admixture of Malay and Javanese in the northern tracts, while Javanese is spoken in the rest of the island, with the exception of the residencies of Besuki and Pasuruhan, where Madurese settlers have migrated with their language. Madurese is the language of Madura, but it has been strongly influenced by Javanese. In the island of Bali and a part of Lombok, the spoken language is Balinese, but it betrays strong Indo-Javanese influences, though in its structure and syntax it is more intimately related to the Sasak-language of Lombok and the Sumbawanese of West Sumbawa. In the northern island of Borneo/Kalimantan, Dayak and Dayak idioms hold sway over large tracts, but Malay dialects of various grades are used in the coastal areas and in the interior tracts, while some Philippine dialects are in current use in the northern tracts of Borneo. Of the 17 language groups listed by Gonda under the Philippine group of languages Tagalog and Visaya dialects are more prominent.

South-East Asia thus present a linguistic mosaic of vast dimensions, but it differs from Indo-Aryan in almost every respect. The basic structure of these languages was not affected by the inflectional morphology of Sanskrit, whose role in the evolution of the classical languages of this region was limited, in the main, to vocabulary, rhetoric and prosody in particular, occasional observance of the *sandhi*-rules or euphonic accommodation, formation of compounds and grammatical participles These observations do not apply uniformly to the linguistic phenomena of South-East Asia as a whole, as studied so far and have not yielded a genetic link among all these languages acceptable to the general body of scholars. The result has been that the impact of Indo-Aryan on the languages of South-East Asia has sometimes been different in different countries. It has, however, been observed that during the millenia of acculturation and racial admixture, the languages of this region have shed off some of their original peculiarities and adopted others through a process of conformism. These diverse ethno-linguistic groups of various types in different grades of cultural development settled down in South-East Asia in various periods extending from the neolithic and bronze age down to the late historical period.

All these details make one thing quite clear, namely, that the languages of South-East and Island Asia which have admitted Sanskrit vocabulary, rhetoric and prosody, etc, cannot be designated a mixed language, as the basic structure of these languages has remained essentially Austro-Āsiatic/Āustronesian, i. e. non-Sanskritic. So the analogy regarding the mixture of Sanskrit-Tamil or Sanskrit-Malayalam, which one would be tempted to call "maṇi-pravāla" i.e. gem and coral,[3] seems to be hardly appropriate in the cases under review. Although the first Indian colonists to South-East Asia obviously spoke their individual languages within the same linguistic groups and Sanskrit as a *lingua* where different linguistic groups were involved, it is the language of their sacred literature which powerfully affected and fashioned the language and literature of the indigenous population of South-East Aaia. This contributed to the creation and stabilisation of the art of writing in this region. India thus provided not only the scripts, but also themes to write about. This scrīpt, generally believed to be adapted from the lands where the Pallavas later on came to power, seems to have fashioned the scripts of the Khmer people, the Burmese, T'ai, Cām, Javanese, the Balinese, etc. Out of this script was evolved the old-Javanese script, but its earliest specimen is to be found in the Dinaja inscription of 760 A.D. The pre-Nāgarī script of Central Java, Sumatra and Kambuja for a brief spell of time was due to the emergence of the Pāla rulers of Bengal and the Śailendra rulers of the Malayo-Indonesian world. Proto-Bengali scripts were used in the votive tablets of Burma and on some images of eastern Java, but these pre-Nāgarī and proto-Bengali scripts were severely limited in regard to time and provenance. As regards the Khmer script, it gradually developed an individuality of its own by the 9th century. The first symptoms of the modern style of writing appear in Khmer-epigraphy in the 11th century. The cursive character, which is the precursor of the modern Cambodian style of writing and of Siamese script the Sukhotai period appears on Cambodian epigraphy, along with monumental type of writing of the earlier inscriptions, but this type of writing did not become a regular feature till the 14th century.

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[3] V. Raghavan, *Proceedings of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists. IV*, 48.

In Java, the adaptation of the Pallava-Grantha character, now called more precisely as the late Brāhmī of Karṇātaka, led to the evolution of several scripts in Indonesia, such as Sundanese, Madurese and Balinese scripts, as also the Batak scripts of central Sumatra. Alphabets of the Bugis and the Macassars of Celebes, the Tagalog scripts of the Philippines also appear to be derived from the same source. As far as our present knowledge goes, India's gift of palaeography has helped to preserve much of the heritage of South-East Asia and Island-Asia from going into oblivion.

Of the hundreds of languages in South-East Asia and Island-Asia, some are spoken by millions of people, while others are spoken by a few hundred. Of all these people, the Javanese and the Balinese have an old literature of their own, though there is hardly any doubt that several countries of South-East Asia had also substantial literature in the ancient period. It may be recalled in this connexion that Chinese history of the Tsin dynasty (265-419) refers to the fact that Funan had books, archives and that alphabets resembling those of the Hu, a tribe of Central Asia using a script of Indian origin, were used there. We learn again from the history of the Liang Dynasty (502-556) that a Chinese mission came to Funan between 535 and 545 to collect Buddhist texts and monks for China. The king of Funan sent the monk Paramārtha with 240 bundles of texts to

China, where he undertook the task, translating 70 texts into Chinese.[4] Malaya was not backward in this respect either, because, P'o-ch'ieh-ta-lo (perhaps Bhagadatta), king of Lang-ya-hsiu (located perhaps at mod. Patani in Malaya)[5] sent to the Chinese emperor in 515 a letter, stating therein that "the precious Sanskrit is generally known in his land",[6] an admission which is rendered creditable by the presence of "more than a thousand Brāhmaṇas" in Tun-Sun[7] as early as the third century A. D. and of hundreds of others at Chih-tu,[8] Pan Pan, etc., in subsequent times.[9] If we may believe in the late evidence of Fo-tsū T'ung-chi ("The General Memoirs on Buddha, and the Patriarch") written by Chih-P'an sometime between 1258 and 1269 that the king of Funan sent an embassy to China in the year 540 and received therefrom the Nirvāṇa (sūtra), the Mahāprajnā (sūtra) and the Suvarṇaprabhāsa (sūtra) and their commentaries of the Chih Chih edition, altogether 103 chuans in number, we may well believe that these works were studied in Funan in the 6th century.[10] Similarly, when king Śambhuvarman of Campā was defeated by the Chinese in 605, the victorious general returned to his country with 1,350 Buddhist texts, all written in Cām hand-writing, which, as stated earlier, was of Indian origin. The same century saw I-tsing studying at Śrīvijaya (Palembang), where more than 1,000 priests "investigate and study all the subjects that exist just as in the Middle kingdom (Madhyadeśa : India) .....If a Chinese priest wishes to go to the west in order to hear

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[4] P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, 143 and 216 ; Coedes, *The Indianized States*, 60 ; Pachow, *Voyage of Buddhist Missions*, in *JGIS XVII* (1968), 14.

[5] About its identification, vide Wheatley, *Golden Khersonese*. 262-4, 266-7 and 287.

[6] Vide Groeneveldt, *Notes*, 10-11.

[7] Wheatley, *op. cit* , 17 for text and translation of the passage

[8] Pelliot, *Memoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge de Tcheou Ta-Kouan, version nouvelle suivie d'un commentaire inacheve* III, 150-52 and Wheatley, *op cit.*, 26 ff.

[9] Regarding the role of the Brāhmaṇas in the Indianization of ancient Malaya, Vide H.B. Sarkar, *Some Contributions*, 28ff.

[10] Pelliot in *BEFEO III*, 672.

(lectures) and read (the original), he had better stay here one or two years......"[11] I-tsing studied *Śabdavidyā* (grammar) here in 671 and was engaged, during 685-689, in copying and translating Buddhist Sanskrit texts into Chinese. In one of his trips, he brought from India 500,000 stanzas of Tripiṭaka texts, on which he did considerable work at Śrīvijaya. The biographies of Chinese pilgrims to India, as compiled by I-tsing, reveal the interesting fact that many Chinese pilgrims, such as Yun-ki, Ta-tsin, Tcheng-kou, Tao-hong, Fa-lang and others made prolonged stay in this international centre of Buddhist scholarship, learnt Kouen-louen (probably a kind of Old or Proto Malay)[12] and Sanskrit. As late as 1017, nemerous Sanskrit works were despatched to China from this place and, up to the 14th century, Sanskrit language and literature were cultivated here. It is unthinkable, in this context, that such profound scholarship was not devoted to the composition of original works or commentaries.

In the same century in which I-tsing was travelling in India, the Chinese scholar Hui-ning broke journey at Ho-ling (Central Java) on his way to India and collaborated with the native Joh-na-poh-to-lo (Skt. Jñānabhadra) in the translation of some Buddhist texts. The attainments of native scholars like Jñānabhadra presuppose an earlier organisation for study and scholarly work in the native language which made the flowering of the genius of Jñānabhadra possible.[13]

Indian Brāhmaṇas are found in South-East Asia from the the first century A.D.[14] and it was this class which was responsible for the composition of the first Sanskrit epigraph of South-East Asia, that of the Vo-canh inscription of Funan (3rd century).[15] The Cām language which is affiliated to the Indonesian language has also extant records from the 4th century.[16] Scholars have generally ascribed the group of seven Sanskrit inscriptions discovered by Low from Tokoon in province Wellesley to be dated in the fifth century,[17] while those of king Mūlavarman of Borneo/Kalimantan have been dated, on the same palaeographic considerations, to c.400 A.D. Sanskrit or Sanskritised literature of the ancient period from Malay and Sumatra is not available now, but the series of Sanskrit inscriptions from Funan and Kambuja written in in kāvya-style makes up the deficiency of Sanskrit literature of Indo-China. In Indonesia, its talented people more readily assimilated the benefits of the Sanskrit language and literature to evolve their own. Other countries from South-East Asia and Island-Asia have nothing similar to produce, except perhaps Burma, but even then, it was only in the domain of Pāli language and literature, although the quality of work and range of the subjects would weigh the balance in favour of Indonesia.

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[11] I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion, as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*, translated by J. Takakusu (1966 edn.), xxxiv.

[12] Regarding identity of the language transcribed as Kouen-loen, there is no consensus among scholars. Ferrand (*Relations de voyages et textes geographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs al'Extreme Orient du VIII au XVIII siecles*, 242 ff. and 332 ff.) found the term applied to countries/islands extending from Africa's east coast to South China. Vide also Chavannes in *BEFEO BII* (1903), 438 ff.

[13] Vide Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* 108-9.

[14] The Brahmin Kauṇḍiṇya founded, according to Chinese texts (vide Pelliot in *BEFEO III*, 1903, p. 291), Funan in the first century A D.

Sanskrit language and literature made deep inroads into the vocabulary of large part of South-East Asia and Island-Asia. Even remote people like the Papuans of New Guinea have some Sanskrit words in their vocabulary. It has how-ever been recognised that its impact has been far-reaching in Old-Javanese. Gonda has pointed out that in the Old-Javanese-Dutch Dictionary of Juynboll there are 6790 Sanskrit words, while the number of Old-Javanese words does not exceed 6925. Broadly

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15. Some scholars like to place this inscription in the 4th century. For discussion on the subject, vide Dr. R. C. Majumdar in *BEFEO XXXII* (1932), 127-39 and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in *Ibid XXXV* (1935) 477-85 ; D. C. Sircar in *JGIS VI* (1939) 53-55 ; *IHQ XVII* (1941(, 107-10 ; Coedes in *IHQ XVI* (1940) 485 ;Gaspardone in *JA*, 1953, pp 477-85 ; K. Bhattacharya in *Sino-Indian Studies V* (1956), 77-87 ; Gaspardone in *Sinologica VIII* no. 3 (1965), 129-36.

16. Dupont and Coedes, Les steles de Sdok Thom etc in *BEFEO* XLIII,75.

17. Vide Low in *JASB XVII* (1848), 62-6 ; Kern, *VG* III, 255 ff. ; B. C. Chhabra in *JASBL. i* (1935), xiv ff.

speaking, the ratio of Sanskrit and Old-Javanese words in the *Kakavins* is 1 : 4 or 2 : 7. In the Malay dictionaries, the number of Sanskrit words will not be less than 750. Gonda has already pointed out that in the Malay dictionary of Pigafetta (1521) consisting of a vocabulary of over 425 words, there are already some Sanskrit words. Similarly, a Malaccan dictionary, consisting of 482 words, compiled by a Chinese author sometime between 1403 and 1511, also contains some Sanskrit words.[19] A large percentage of Balinese vocabulary in the domain of literature, religion and cognate subjects consists of many Sanskrit words, as any Balinese dictionary will testify. The Balinese gloss or annotations of Sanskrit words have kept the Balinese priests and scholars somewhat abreast of the intent of Sanskrit texts they read, write and chant.[20] In the Buginese vocabulary of South Celebes there are some Sanskrit words denoting business, utensils, religion, āgama, administration and social life. In the Bari language of Central Celebes, in Bimanese, Rotinese, Mangarai (Flores), Sasak (Lombok) and Busang (Central Celebes), we find a number of Sanskrit words. If we proceed further towards the Philippines, we shall find in Tagalog about 250 Sanskrit words, of which the majority belong to the domain of trade, commerce and material objects. Nor are Sanskrit loan-words absent from the Indo-Chinese peninsula. In the Cām-French Dictionary edited by Aymonier and Cabaton in 1906, there are about 700 Sanskrit words in a vocabulary of 9350. There is also considerable intrusion of Sanskrit loan-words into Khmer, covering geographical names, names of persons and divinities, administrative and abstract terms, terms relating to calendar, number, etc. In the Siamese-English dictionaries of McFarland, the total vocabulary now numbers about 40,000, of which 1362 are Pāli and Sanskrit words, as against 32 pure Cambodian.[21] The intrusion of Pāli and Sanskrit loan-words into Burmese has obviously occured in a larger scale for historical and linguistic reasons, but the depth of its penetration in concrete terms has not yet been assessed.

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[19] Vide for the loan-words Gonda, *op. cit.*, 115-16, 119-20, 121.

[20] C. Hooykaas in *BKI*, 118, pp. 320-21.

[21] Thompson, *Thailand, the new Siam*, 760.

In the vast range of Sanskrit and Sanskritic literature of South-East Asia and Island south-East Asia, one thing appears to be very striking, namely, that whereas the classical literature of the Indo-Javanese period has come down to us in the form of MSS, hardly anything survives physically from other parts of this region. So far as South-East Asia, as distinguished from its Island counter-part Asia, is concerned, Sanskrit literature of original genre can only refer to Campā and Kambuja, where we have, excluding the Vo-canh inscription sfrom the third century, an unbroken series of Sanskrit inscriptions written in verses, ranging from the sixth to the fourteenth century. Unfortunately and unlike what happened in Indonesia, this contribution of Sanskrit language and literature did not lead to the efflorescence of Khmer language and literature, as the poor literary style of the inscriptions written in the Khmer language would testify. This is in sharp contrast with the classical literature of Indonesia, flourishing under the same stimuli.

In course of time, some of the native languages, enriched by the vocabulary of Sanskrit, its rhetoric and prosody, etc., became a fit vehicle for the expresion of ideas in the religious and secular field. In the field of sacred literature, the place of Sanskrit was gradually taken over by Pāli, the sacred language of the Hīnayānist Buddhists. In this task, a great role was played by Simhala. In India, meanwhile, the advent of Islam initiated revolutionary changes in almost every walk of life and the live contact of India with South-East Asia was snapped, thus the invigorating source of Sankrit was dried up, while that of Pāli, with its centre in Simhala, became brisker. It is not therefore surprising that Sanskrit inscriptions gradually disappear from the scene. In Campā, for example, the last Sanskrit inscription was composed in 1253, while that of Kambuja around 1330. In Indonesia, the last Sanskrit inscription is dated in 1378.

This decline in the importance of Sanskrit was due, in the main, to the crisis of Indian civilisation, to which it was subjected due to Muslim invasion of India.

Words of Dravidian origin, mainly Tamil, have also entered into the vocabulary of South-East Asia and their number grow larger in an around the periphery of Malacca since the 15th century. This was mainly due to the commercial activities of Muslim traders from Gujarat and Tamil lands. In this way Tamil words for ship, sail, shop, ginger, godown, capital, precious stones, food articles, etc., entered into Malay and Indonesian languages, but their impact for the ancient period was hardly felt.

CHAPTER IX

THE INDIAN LITERATURE OF FUNUN AND KAMBUJA

No where else in South-East Asia were Sanskrit language and literature studied with so much assiduity as in Indo-China, by which I mean Funan, Campā and Kambuja. In Kambuja, prolific references occur in Sanskrit inscriptions regarding the subjects studied by kings and others and it would appear that this study was both extensive and intensive. These records provide us with authentic and in many cases exact information about the level of Sanskrit scholarship and diffusion of knowledge in various branches thereof in Kambuja. It is true that Java and Bali offer better field for the study of Sanskritic literature through their MS-literature or published texts, but the various fields of Sanskrit language and literature covered in Indo-China were really astonishing. On account of its earlier start, we should therefore like to begin our study of the Indianized literature of South-East Asia with a survey of the field in Funan and its successor state Kambuja.

A brief statement is perhaps called for regarding the ancient language of Kambuja, i.e., Old Khmer. The structure of the language is somewhat similar to that of Indonesia, because, in both the cases, the words are found to be mono or dis-syllabic and are invariable. They have neither gender nor number and the laws of syntactical order determine, as in Austronesian/Indonesian, the functional value of the sentence. In this language-world, the impact of Sanskrit was necessarily limited : it was circumscribed within the domain of vocabulary, rhetoric and prosody, as in classical Javanese, but the contribution was less significant. A chronological study of the charters written in the Khmer language would indicate that the older charters, beginning with the inscription of Angkor Borei dated in

611,[1] represent almost oral language put into writing, while those belonging to the 11th century had almost gained the inherent strength of a virile language.[2] In other words, Sanskrit and, to a limited extent, Pāli lent the wealth of their vocabulary to the Khmer language to stand on its own in course of three centuries.

When we compare the loan-words of both Kambuja and Indonesia, we notice a stange phenomenon, namely, that whereas Sanskrit words introduced into Indonesian/Austronesian languages have, in many cases, changed almost beyond recognition, the majority of Sanskrit words are not so distorted in Old-Khmer epigraphy. The Sanskrit words absorbed into the vocabulary of Khmer relate to geographical names, names of persons and divinities, administrative terms, terms relating to calender and number, abtract terms and miscellaneous words.[3] One interesting matter observed by K. K. Sarkar is that he has found in Khmer epigraphy, some cases of Prākṛta intrusion which is virtually non-existent in Old-Javanese epigraphy.[4]

There is another strange phenomenon observed in Khmer epigraphy. Sanskrit being a mysterious sacred language for the common people, it was used in charters for describing the royal genealogies, panegyrics for the founders of the monuments of Kambuja and donors of different categories, while Old Khmer, the language of the people was used for other purposes, e.g. description of the foundations, enumeration of servants, etc.[5] Pāli inscriptions are however few and far between[6], and one dated in the reign of Śrīndravarman in 1309 provided the earliest epigraphic evidence regarding the introduction of Hīnayāna Buddhism from Simhala to Kambuja.[7]

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[1] Dupont and Coedes in *BEFEO XLIII*, 75.

[2] It would thus appear that the same position was attained by Old-Javanese at least 100 years earlier, as the first specimens of this language, for instance the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* would testify.

[3] K. K. Sarkar, *Early Indo-Cambodian Contacts*, 14 ff.

[4] In the Indonesian epigraphy, there is hardly any case of Prākṛta-intrusion, unless some obscure words in the charters of Java conceal their Prākṛta-origin.

[5] Vide (Ed.) S. Levi, *Indo-Chine I*, 180-81 ; K. K. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 28. In South India, the verse portion is often written in Sanskrit, but the technical details are written in the regional language,

The Sanskrit inscriptions written by eminent scholars are always written in different Sanskrit metres and these start with the famous Vo-canh inscription, dated in about the third century A.D. These inscriptions are usually written in flawless Sanskrit, but it is not certain if all these charters were written by the Brahmins or members of the royal family alone and the Hinduized Khmers had no share in their composition. The unornamental style of the Khmer epigraphs would however induce one to believe that the former was the case. It is interesting to observe in this connexion that some of the inscriptions were coached in the Gauḍī-style prevalent in Bengal, as for instance, in the Vat Thipedi inscription of king Īśānavarman II, dated in 910.[8] The long compounds, exaggeration (*atyukti*) and alliteration (*anuprāsa*), which are the principal peculiarities of this style, are found in several other inscriptions.[9] One specimen of hybrid Sanskrit composition is found in an inscription and, like its class, it lacks in grammar, metre etc.

The hundreds of Sanskrit inscriptions written in the Kāvya-style underline the tremendous literary effort made by the Sanskrit scholars of Kambuja. By itself it is a phenomenon, and no country outside India is known to have made comparable effort in this direction. I examined about 58 Sanskrit charters of Kambuja, for whlch necessary details are available, in chronological order, from the earliest times to 1005, to study their prosodical structure and found that the most popular meters, in order of priority, were the following: Śloka or Anuṣṭubh (39),[10] the group Upajāti, Indravajra and Upendravajrā (37), Śārdūlavikrīḍita (24), Vasantatilaka (18), Sragdharā (14), Mālinī (10), Vamśastha (5), Pṛthvī (3), Mandākrāntā (3), Vaitālīya (2), Aupachandasika, Svāgata and Triṣṭubh, 1 each. By comparing the frequency of these metres with those used in the *Raghuvamśa*, *Kumārasambhava*, *Kirātārjunīya*, *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, *Māghakāvya* and *Naiṣadhīya*, the dates of which range between the fourth and the tenth century, we find that the popularity of metres in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Kambuja had no relation to the general popularity of the metres in contemporary India.

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[6] R. C. Majumdar, *IK*, no. 188. It is written partly in Pāli and partly in Khmer. It is however interesting to observe that in the Khmer text Pāli names have been restored to Sanskrit form.

[7] Vide in this connexion, R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, 596.

[8] R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 78.

[9] Cf. Coedes in *Melanges d'Indianisme offerts a Sylvain Levi*, 1911, pp. 214-15; K. K. Sarkar, *op. cit*, 55-56.

Sanskrit *alamkāra* (embellishment) has also been used in the inscriptions with remarkable effect. Raghavan was struck by the fact that the ideas, fancies and descriptions have a simplicity, beauty and originality. Of embellishments or *alamkāra*, the poets have revelled in the use of *upamā* or simile, sometimes worked through double entendre or *śleṣa*. Figures of speech, such as *ullekha*, *yathāsaṅkhya*, *vyatireka*, *dṛṣṭānta*, etc., have been culled by Raghavan from the Kambujan inscriptions and they show the diversity of the techniques used by the Cambodian poets. He has also pointed out how the play on the double meaning of words or śleṣa, also used effectively in classical Javanese, has been harnessed to illustrate cases of *upamā* and *utprekṣā* i.e., simile and conceit.[11]

It is noteworthy that the compositions of the Sanskrit inscriptions is not always flawless. K. K. Sarkar, following Roeske[12] has observed that this is due to the process of Khmerization of the Sanskrit words. In Indonesia, the Sanskrit inscriptions betray just the opposite process: the term *Rakarayan*, a famous indigenous term denoting certain categories of high executive officers was, for example, Sanskritised into *Kariyāna*.[13] As Roeske's work was published about 60 years back and many new inscriptions have come to light, it would be difficult to sustain the theory about the Khmerization of Sankrit terms without an exhaustive examination of the Sanskrit and Khmer inscription form this point of view.

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[10] The number within bracket indicates the number of times the metres have been used in different inscriptions up to 1005 A.D.

[11] Raghavan in *Proceedings of the XXVI-th International Congress of Orientalists*, IV, 52ff.

Before I turn my attention to the subject proper, I should like to notice a strange paradox. The hundreds of Sanskrit inscriptions of Funan-Campā-Kambuja and numerous Sanskrit texts and episodes mentioned therein would *prima facie* create the expectation that the penetration of Sanskrit terms into the native vocabulary would involve thousands of words, but this expectation has been belied. On the other hand, the number of Sanskrit charters of Indonesia would hardly be two dozen, but the number of Sanskrit words adopted into the Old-Javanese would be several thousands. This strange phenomenon might be due to the fact that in the ancient period there was hardly any creative Khmer literature which could absorb adequately the onrush of Sanskrit words in various branches of knowledge. The knowledge of Sanskrit being confined to the upper strata of the society and the agency to popularise Sanskrit terms through creative literary enterprise being absent or poor, these two factors severally and jointly retarded any large-scale adoption of Sanskrit words into the native vocabulary. Circumstances being favourable, Java and Bali presented a different picture: the native genius, assisted by Sanskrit scholars, created a multi-facet literature which was able to absorb thousands of Sanskrit terms in its stride.

(ii)

Many of the rulers of Kambuja were accomplished

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[12] *JA*, 1914, p. 640.

[13] H. B. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java I*, *no.* V. 12.

scholars. It would be impossible to refer to all such cases in detail, as that would be somewhat monotonous, but a few may be mentioned here. The stele of Thnal Baray,[14] for example, credits king Yaśovarman I (889- c.900) with having composed a commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya.* Similarly, Sūryavarman I who ruled between 1002 and 1050 has been described as proficient in the *Vedāṅgas.* Sūryavarman II (1113-c.1150) is also reported in an inscription to have studied all branches of astronomy and the *vraḥ guhya* or the secret texts.[15] And what is more interesting is the fact that inscriptions also refer to learned ladies. Tilakā, for instance, received the title of Vāgiśvarī Bhagavatī on account of her profound learning.[16] Similarly queen Indradevī who "surpassed in her knowledge the knowledge of philosophers" composed in faultless Sanskrit a panegyric on her deceased younger sister who was the first queen of her husband Jayavarman VII (1181-c.1218).[17] Before becoming queen, Indradevī taught the Buddhist nuns of the three Convents, whose names have been specifically mentioned in the inscriptions. It is interesting to learn from the Phnom Sandak inscription of Sūryavarman II that some short Sanskrit verses written by the king himself were inserted in the inscription, which was otherwise written mainly in Khmer.[18] The lengthy Ta Proḥm inscription of Jayavarman VII, dated 1186,[19] has also 115 verses in Sanskrit, written in Vasantatilaka, Upajāti, Indravajrā, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Āryā and Śloka metres by prince Sūryakumāra, while another inscription, the Pra Khan stele inscription by prince Vīrakumāra, the son of the chief queen Rājendradevī, pertaining to the same reign, was written in 179 Sanskrit verses, in identical

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14. *ISC*, 474 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 62.
15. Stele of Phnom Sandak. Vide *BEFEO XLIII*, 141 : Coedes and Parmentier, *Liste Generale des Inscriptions et des Monuments* (1923), no. 194.
16. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 173.
17. Coedes, *IC*, II, 161 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 182.
18. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit*, 430.
19. Vide *BEFEO VI*, 44 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit*, no. 177.

metres, the only addition being Mālinī. The training of the two princes in the use of metre might have been received from a common *guru*.

We may now bring under our review the various branches of learning which were studied in ancient Kambuja. The most sacred literature of the Hindus is the Vedas, but these do not figure in Kambuja inscriptions before the 7th century. It is interesting to note in this connexion that none of the charters of Kambuja written in the native language has ever used the expression *Veda*, as if the use of that term outside Sanskrit texts would constitute a sacrilege. Thus, the stele of Tuol An Khvav, an inscription in Old-Khmer, dated in the 7th century on palæographic grounds, refers to the four *Vedas* under the expression "caturvvidy(ā)".[20] The same sacred text is mentioned again under the designation svami cāturvvidya in the Vat Kdei Trap inscription[21] and the Tuol Cam inscription.[22] The New Inscriptions of Bantat Srei[23] (968) also refer to the ceaseless recitation of the *Vrahmasūtra*, meaning thereby the recitation of the *Vedas* by the professor, but here also the sacred text has been designated by a term other than the *Veda*.

The Sanskrit inscriptions of Kambuja have mentioned, down the centuries, names and accomplishments of various scholars versed in the *Vedas*, the *Vedāṅgas*, etc. In the reign of Īśānavarman I (c.616-c.635) there flourished a Brāhmaṇa named Durgasvāmin who has been described as proficient not only in the *mantras*, but also in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Sūtras* of the Taittirīya school.[24] An inscription from the second half of the 7th century also refers to the name of a Brāhmaṇa called Dharmasvāmī who was proficient in the *Vedas* and the *Vedāṅgas*.[25] The tradition of Vedic learning was continued by the learned Brāhmaṇa Nāga in the early part of the 8th century[26] (704). Shortly thereafter, in 713, we find in queen Jayadevī's service a Śaiva Brāhmaṇa named Śukrasvāmin well versed in the *Vedānta* and the *Taittirīya.*[27] If we are guided by references in the inscriptions, it would appear as if the study of the discipline of the Taittirīya school, which commenced in Kambuja not later than 635 was vigorously pursued even in the beginning of the 8th century.

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[20] Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.*, K. no. 562.

[21] Ibid., no. 51 ; *IC*, V, 14.

[22] Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.*, K. no. 939 ; *IC*, V. 56.

[23] *IC*, I, 152.

[24] Coedes, *IC*, IV, 27.

[25] R. C. Majumder, *op. cit.*, no. 34.

The branches of literature referred to above proliferated in the Angkorean period (c.800-1150). In this period, the range of Sanskrit scholarship becomes deeper and more varied. It has been stated of Śrinīvāsakavi who probably flourished in the middle of the 9th century, that he was "the master of the four Vedas".[28] Among other Vedic scholars of the Angkorean period, we may mention the name of Śrī Svāmin, who was not only versed in the *Vedas*, but also in grammar and philosophy.[29] Another famous scholar of the age was Śivasoma, the preceptor of king Indravarman (877-889).[30] It has been stated of this scholar that his teacher Bhagavat Rudra was a "knower of the *Vedas*" and that he knew logic, rhetoric and other sciences. The proficiency of the latter in other branches of the śāstras, such as the *Purāṇa*, the (*Mahā*)*bhārata*, Śaiva Grammar (the grammar of *Pāṇini*) in full, has also been acknowledged in the same inscription. Another notable Vedic scholar of the Angkorean period was the Brāhmaṇa Agastya who hailed from "Āryadeśa", which may signify India. It has been stated of him that he was versed in the *Vedas* and the *Vedāṅgas.*[31] It has been well observed by K. K. Sarkar[32] that the regulations of the hermitages which uniformly bore the title of Yaśodharāśrama mention persons who sustained Sanskrit culture during this epoch. Another inscription from the time of king Yaśovarman I (889-900) refers to an *ācārya* (professor) who was versed not only in grammar, but also in the three *Vedas*. The reign of Rājendravarman (944-968) also saw the continuation of the Vedic studies, as the chanting of Sāma-songs are referred to in the inscription of Sambhor Prei Kuk.[33] The long Pre-Rup stele inscription of the same king[34] also refers to the double collection of the *Vedas*. It has been stated that the Brāhamaṇa Viśvarūpa practised *Veda*-reading in earlier days ("prāgvedābhyāsanan").[35] This does not, of course, signify want of knowledge in the *Vedas*, as the same inscription refers to the performance of certain rites (verse 64) based on the *Atharva*(*veda*). Allied litterature was also studied during the reign of the same king, because, in the same verse, fourteen kinds of sciences included not only the study of the four *Vedas* and the six *Vedāṅgas*, but also the *Mīmāṃsā*, the *Nyaya*, the *Dharma*(*śāstras*) and the *Purāṇa*. The king himself was interested in some of these branches of learning, as he learnt from the Brāhmaṇa Śrī Someśvarabhaṭṭa the Mīmāṃsā, which "explains the meaning of the Veda" (verse 239).

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[26] *IC*, III, 129 : R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit* , no. 41 E.

[27] *IC*, IV, 58.

[28] *IC*, IV, 41 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 58.

[29] R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 58.

[30] *IC.* I, 40.

[31] *ISCC*, no. 44, 364 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 60.

[32] *Op. cit.*, 36.

Vedic studies were also continued during the reign of king Jayavarman V (968-1001). The king's preceptor was Yajñavarāha, who was a great scholar in various branches of learning.[36] The Bantay Srei inscription, which gives us this information, also enjoins upon the chief of the central temple of Tribhuvanamaheśvara at Bantay Srei to arrange for the reading of the *Vedas* by professors without any break (verse 38). Besides, the studies of the *Vedāṅgas* and the *Vedānta* were also assiduously pursued during the

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[33] *IC*, IV, 21.
[34] *IC*, I, 78 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 97.
[35] Ibid., verse 14.
[36] *IC*, I, 150 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 102.

same reign by the Brāhmaṇas, who followed the path of the Smṛti.[37] The same inscription also bears a quotation from Śruti, stating "Above our good actions are to be placed those of others, says the Śruti" (verse 34). The same quotation also occurs in the stele of Prasat Komphus.[38] Divākarabhaṭṭa who figures in more than one inscription has been described in the Stele of Prasat Komphus as conversant with the *Sāmveda*.[39]

The popularity of the *Atharvaveda* remained undiminished during the reign of king Sūryavarman I, as the inscription of Lovek would make us believe.[40] Yogīndrapaṇḍita the royal chaplain of this king, was proficient in the "revealed literature",[41] while the king himself is said to have attained profound knowledge in the precepts of the six *Vedāṅgas*.[42] Another great scholar named Bhūpendrapaṇḍita served under three later kings (1080-c.1150)[43] in high official capacity and is reported to have been well-versed in the *Vedas*.[44] During his time, the recitation of the *Vedas* is described to have filled up all directions.[45]

It must have been made abundantly clear from the reference made above that the study of the *Vedas* was accompanied, as was to be expected, with a thorough grounding in the *Vedāṅgas*, or limbs or parts of the *Vedas*, which are six in number, such as, pronunciation, metre, ritual, grammar, lexicography and astronomy (*śikṣā*, *chandaḥ*, *kalpa*, *vyākaraṇa*, *nirukta* and *jyotiṣa*). As study of Sanskrit is impossible without the aid of grammar, we find that throughout the history of ancient Kambuja princes as well as the

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[37] Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.*, no. 263 ; *IC*, IV, 125.

[38] *IC*, I, 169, Face B, verse 52.

[39] *IC*, I, 167.

[40] *ISCC*, no. XVII.

[41] *IC*, VI, 248 and *ISCC*, XVI, 117.

[42] Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.*, no. 834 and *IC*, V, 253.

[43] Coedes, *The Indianized States*, 163.

[44] *IC*, I. 237.

[45] *IC*, IV, 187.

Brāhmaṇas connected with the court or the hermitage have laid the greatest stress on the study of grammar. Quite appropriately, V. Raghavan has stated, "If there is one śāstra or technical discipline whose mastery is writ large on these inscriptions, it is grammar."[46] As early as 627, the Sambhor Prei Kuk inscription proclaims that the Brāhmaṇa Vidyāviśeṣa was "the highest authority in the system of grammar."[47] The scope of this śabdavidyā or grammar has been elaborated in another inscription,[48] where reference has been made to the study of prakṛti, pratyaya, ādeśa, guṇa, vṛddhi and āgama. The scholar Vidyāpuṣpa, who flourished during the reign of Bhavavarman II (639), has been described as a master of the Pāśupata sect and proficient in grammar.[49]

In the Angkorean period, the study of grammar becomes deeper or, may be, we get greater details about the study of the subject. It has been stated that Bhagavat Rudra, the teacher of the famous scholar Śivasoma, was accomplished in the Śaiva grammar, i.e., the grammar of Pāṇini, in its entirety.[50] Another inscription dating from 883 eulogises Śrī Svāmin as well-versed not only in the philosophical systems but also in grammar.[51] The study of astronomy and grammar continued to receive the attention of scholars during the reign of Yaśovarman I[52] and one such scholar, who was an ascetic (*yati*) of the name of Amarabhāva, is credited with proficiency in the Śaiva-tantra as well as in astronomy and grammar.[53] The study of astrology or Horāśāstra had also its votaries and one such expert, who was minister of king Yaśovarman I with the name of Śrī Satyāśraya, has been referred to in the inscription of Phimanakas dated 910.[54] In the Yaśodharāśrama, there were *ācāryas* versed in the science of grammar.[55] A knowledge in the intricacies of Pāṇinian grammar has been revealed in the stele of Phnom Sandok, dated 895, where one comes across the verse "upasargāḥ kriyāyoge te prāg dhātor" i e., the upasargas or prefixes are joined to a verb and are placed before the root.[56] Barth has pointed out that these maxims refer to actual quotations from Pāṇinian sūtras 1, 4, 58, 59, 80. As referred to earlier, king Yaśovarman is credited in one of the inscriptions as having composed a commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*. The Vat Thipdei inscription of the time of king Īśānavarman II (925) also speaks of a scholar named Śikhāśiva who had not only command over the grammatical science, but also over the six great systems of philosophy.[57] Not long afterwards ascended on the throne of Kambuja King Harṣavardhana II, who had, in the year 943, in his service, ācārya Caitanyaśiva, who was "the foremost in grammar".[58] This sustained study of the grammatical science was also continued during the reign of his successor, king Rājendravarman, who ruled over Kambuja from 944 to 968.[59] Persons versed in grammar are also referred to in the Pre-Rup Stele Inscription, dated 961.[60] In the same inscription, allusions to grammatical rules occur in verses 124, 214 and 219. The tradition of grammatical studies in Kambuja was also continued during the reign of Jayavarman V, whose guru Yajñavarāha has been described in the Bantay Srei inscriptions as not only versed in astronomy

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[46] *Proceedings of the XXVI-th International Congress of Orientalists*, IV, 50.

[47] *BEFEO*, *XXVIII*, 44 ; R. C. Majumder, *op. cit* , no. 16.

[48] *IC*, IV, 8.

[49] *IC*, I, 3-5.

[50] *IC*, I, 40 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 54.

[51] *BEFEO XXXVII*, 389 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 58.

[52] *IC*, I, 257.

[53] Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.*, K. 291 ; *IC*, III, 201 ; *ISCC*, no. LXII, 545.

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54. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 74.
55. *Ibid.*, no. 66.
56. *Ibid.*, no. 73.
57. *Ibid.*, no. 78.
58. Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.*, no. K. 950.
59. *BEFEO XLIII*, 10.
60. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 97.

(verse 20),[61] but also in the grammatical science, which he taught to his younger brother Viṣṇukumāra (verse 29). What is more interesting, the same scholar, in order that his grammatical studies may not be interrupted, copied the *Kāśikāvṛtti* in its entirety.[62] Kāśikā is a late commentary on the work of Pāṇini. The inscription of the Saigon Museum[63] also refers to a person well versed in śabdaśātra or grammar. Besides the Sanskrit inscriptions, the Khmer epigraphs also sometimes refer to the study of grammar. The Prasat Khna inscription, dated 980, may be cited as an example.[64]

Besides, there were also other kings who were equally interested in the cultivation of the science of grammar. King Udayādityavarman II (1050-1065) is also reported in the Sdok Kak Thony Stele Inscription to have learnt from his *guru* Jayendrapaṇḍita "all the sciences, to wit, siddhānta, vyākaraṇa, dharmaśāstra and the other śāstras".[65] During the reign of Sūryavarman I, the study of the grammatical science was continued uninterrupted. In the inscription of Lovek, we come across a person who was learned in the "doctrines of Pāṇini".[66] In the same inscription, further reference has been made not only to śabdaśāstra i.e., grammar, but also to the (*Mahā*)*bhāṣya* of Patañjali which had gained great currency in the countries of South-East Asia. The Stele of Prasat Trapan Run,[67] dating from 1006 refers to a certain Pañcagavya, who had delved into the five grammars ("*pancavyākaraṇāntagaḥ*"). The identification of the five grammars referrerd to in this inscription cannot be made now for want of specific details, but it is known that at least four Indian grammatical texts were studied in some places of South-East Asia. These refer to the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, the Kātantra of Sarvavarman, the Cāndravyākaraṇa and the Kaccāyanasutta, if any Pāli grammar is intended. Of these texts, nos. 1, 2 and 3 have been mentioned in Old-Javanese documents, while no. 4 formed the basis of several grammatical texts in Burma. Among other scholars, Kavīndrapaṇḍita has been described in the inscription just referred to above as professor of Sanskrit literature and versed in the science of grammar. In another charter, that of Tuol Ta Pec, king Sūryavarman I has been eulogised as proficient in the study of the six Vedāṅgas. His keenness of perception regarding the comparative importance of various branches of learning is illustrated when he describes "the Bhāṣya as feet etc., the kāvyas as hands, the six branches of philosophy as sense organs, the dharmaśāstras as head." Students of grammar belonging to the monasteries of the eastern region have been referred to in the Inscription of Prasat Khna (Mlu Prei). The study of astrology was also cultivated, as Sadāśiva, the royal chaplain, was himself an expert in it.[68] He is also said to have gained his knowledge of grammer from his guru Vāgīndrakavi.[69] Royalties were also attracted to the astronomical science, even as to grammatical treatises, and king Udayādityavarman II is an example of this.[70] Similarly, Bhūpendrapaṇḍita, to whom reference has been made earlier, is reported to have been versed not only in Siddhānta (astronomy) and philosophy, but also in the grammar of Pāṇini.[71] In this favourite climate of learning, Saunāgas or the school of Grammarians flourished very well. We find them again in the reign of king Sūryavarman II (1113-1145), whose Stele of Phnom Run[72] moreover refers, in verse 28, to the text called *Bhāṣyasāra* ("The essence of Commentaries"). This text may be an abridged grammatical work connected with the five grammatical texts studied in the earlier generation.[73] The last salutation to Pāṇini occurs in a charter from the time of king Jayavarman VII (1181-c 1218), who has been eulogised in one of the Steles of Prasat Crun of Angkor Thom,[74]

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[61] Ibid., verse 90.

[62] Stele of Sdok Kak Thom, *op. cit.*

[63] Stele of Prasat Tor. Vide *IC*, I, 237 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 180, verse 27.

[64] *IC*, V, 302 (verse 24) ; Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.*, no. 384.

[65] Vide *supra.*

[66] Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.*, no. 597.

[67] Vide *supra.*

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[68] *Supra*, vide note 62 above.

[69] *BEFEO*, XLIII, 84 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 152.

[70] *Supra*.

[71] *Supra*.

[72] *IC*, V, 302 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 174.

Philosophy was studied in ancient Kambuja in its diverse branches from very early days. So also the Dharmaśāstras. All the details cannot be determined from the inscriptions, but as early as 627, the inscription of Sambor Prei Kuk[75] presents us with a contemporary scholar of the name of Vidyāviśeṣa, who has been described as the highest authority of the land in Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Samīkṣā and Buddhism. Obviously these refer to the Vaiśeṣika-system of Kaṇāda, the Nyāya-system of Gautama (Akṣapāda), the Sāṁkhya system of Kapila and the texts on Buddhism. Vaiśeṣika-system as well as the Nyāya philosophy were studied with comprehension by the poet Vidyāpuṣpa, whose accomplishments are narrated in the Stele of Phnom Prah Vihar.[76] Siṁhāvalokitanyāya and Gautama's Nyāyasūtra have been referred to in the Eastern Baray Stele inscription of king Yaśovarman ( ).[77] Logic, rhetoric and other sciences were studied by Bhagavat Rudra, the teacher of the famous scholar Śivasoma who flourished in the last quarter of the 9th century. Another contemporary of these scholars was Śri Svāmin who is said to have "mastered the philosophical system".[78] The study of astronomy and astrology seems to have had ardent votaries, as Amarabhāva[79] and Śrī Satyāśraya are respectively described as proficient in them.[80] The study of the six great systems of philosophy is also attributed

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73. *Supra*.
74. Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.*, no. 597.
75. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.* no. 16.
76. *Ibid*, no. 10.
77. *ISC*, no. 474.
78. Stele of Prasat Po. Vide *BEFEO*, XXXVII, 389 (verse 8)
79. Vide Bayang Stele Inscription, R. C. Majumdar' *op. cit* no. 75.
80. In Phimankas Inscription, verse 8. Vide *IC* III, 201 ; *ISCC*, no. LXII, 545 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.* no. 74.

to Śikhāśiva, a scholar hailing from the time of king Īśānāvarman II (925).[81] King Rājendravarman is said to have studied the Buddhist doctrines of philosophy.[82] The study of the doctrines of the Pañcarātra has also been referred to in a record from the reign of this king.[83] The Stele of Pre Rup, pertaining also to the same reign, also refers to, in verse 135, to the study of the Nyāya-philosophy and dharmaśāstras. An epigraphic text from the reign of king Jayavarman V refers to the study of the doctrines of Patañjali, Kaṇāda, Akṣapāda (Gautama), Kapila, Buddha, as well as texts on astronomy.[84] It is very interesting to observe that the first four Sūtras of Kaṇāda have been summarised in verse XVI of the Lovek Inscription,[85] issued during the reign of Sūryavarman I. Sadāśiva, the royal chaplain of this king, is said to have been versed, among other sciences, in astrology.[86] Similarly, Bhūpendrapaṇḍita, a government officer referred to earlier, has also been said to have drunk the five oceans of Siddhānta (astronomy) as well as philosophy.[87] King Udayādityavarman II has also been described[88] as an accomplished scholar in Siddhānta-śāstra or astronomy, even as king Sūryavarman II.[89]

The role of the *Manusaṃhitā* outside India, particularly in South-East Asia, was unique. It was studied not only in the neighbouring island of Simhala in the medieval period, but also in Burma, Thailand, Campā, Kambuja, Malaya and Indonesia, as will be discussed in appropriate places of this book. This unique position of *Manusamhitā* was also recognised in the ancient period,

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81. *IC*, III, 103, no. 4, verse 15.
82. *Ibid.*
83. *IC*, V, 121, verse 27.
84. *IC*, I, 150, verses 20 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 102.
85. *ISCC*, no. XVII, 8.
86. Stele of Sdok Kak Thom, verse 72. Vide *BEFEO* XLIII, 82.
87. Stele of Prasat Tor, verse 47. Vide *IC*. I, 237.
88. Stele of Sdok Kak Thom, verse 65-66.
89. *BEFEO* XLIII, 91, 141, 142 ; Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.*, no. 194.

because a text of Bṛhaspati significantly states that the injunction which is not supported by the *Manusamhitā* is not to be accepted, because thə essence of the *Vedas* or Śruti has been reflected therein.[90]

In Kambuja also the text commanded great repect. The first reference to this text occurs in the Stele of Loley,[91] where, in verse 36, it has been stated that the king learnt his duty to the subjects by taking guidance from Yogīśvara (Yājñavalkya) and the princes, prostrating before him, made him look as if he was another Manu. According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar,[92] the verse means that the *Manu*(*samhitā*) was the principal source of Yājñavalkya (Yogiśvara). Whatever be the real significance of the verse, the high authority of the text in Kambuja cannot be doubted. It is not therefore surprising that two quotations of the *Manusamhitā* occur in the inscriptions of king Yaśovarman. Of them, one runs as follows :[93]

‘Abhyāgataguṇānāñca parā vidyeti mānavaṃ"

The other is :[94]

"Vittaṁ vandhurvayaḥ karma vidyā bhavati pañcamī /
etāni mānyasthānāni garīyo yad yaduttaraṁ/"

The first quotation may be translated thus : "Of the acquired qualities, the greatest is learning, according to Manu." The second quotation may be translated thus : "Wealth, kinship, age, pious deeds and, in the fifth place, learning—these command respect, in the ascending order of importance." Another quotation from the *Manusamhitā* occurs in the Vat Prah Einkosei :[95]

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[90] G C. Sarkar, *Tagore Law Lectures*, 1891, 72 ff.

[91] *ISCC* 397 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 61.

[92] *Op. Cit.*, 84, f. n. 3.

[93] Prasat Komnap inscription, verses 63-4. Vide R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit* , no. 66.

[94] *Ibid*, Cf. Manu II, 136

[95] Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.*, no. 263, verse 33 ; *IC*, IV. 127.

"Krūrāś śaṭhātilubdhā ye paradharmavilopakāḥ /
te yānti pitṛbhis sārddhaṃ narakaṃ manuravravīt /

i.e. The cruel, wicked, avaricious persons who destroy the righteous deeds (*dharma*) of other people go, according to Manu, to hell with their ancestors".

A person who has traversed the path of Manu has been referred to in the inscription of Vat Baset Pillar.[96] Kings have sometimes also been described as adepts in dharmaśāstras, as for instance, king Udyādityavarman II, who has been described as such in the Stele of Sdok Kak Thom.[97] The Brāhmaṇa scholar Śrī Kanṭhapaṇḍita has also been described as proficient in the dharmaśāstras in an inscription from about the last quarter of the 11th century.[98]

The inscriptions of Kambuja also throw some light on the proceedings of the law-courts of the country. After a complaint was lodged at the court, the court's "reciter of the *dharmaśāstras*" (Indian law-books) quoted Sanskrit texts relevant to the case and all legal points of the case were covered by Sanskrit terminology, but the factual presentation of the case was made in vernacular. Native legal procedures were thus set up in the frame-work of the Indian legal system.[99]

In ancient Indonesia, the 8th and the 9th chapters of the *Manusaṃhitā*, which deal with civil and criminal cases, provided the matrix for its principal legal text-books, as we shall see later on. These chapters of the *Manusamhitā* still constitute, according to Leclere,[100] the base for modern legal system of Kambuja. But, as in Thailand, the law had to be modified on account of local condition and the influence of Buddhism, which became the religion of the people in later times. The Buddhist religion, on account of its democratic character, gave the women higher status than was provided for them in the ancient Hindu Law. This is particularly so in regard to *strīdhana* or dowry, share in legacy and rights of succession. It is difficult to say who was responsible for the initial introduction of the Hindu legal system, as provided for in the *Manusamhitā*, into Kambuja, but if the *Liang Shu* (chap. 54) is to be believed, the Brahmin Kauṇḍiṇya II[101] is to be given the credit for this, as he "once more modified all the laws to conform to the usage of India."

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[96] Codes and Parmentier, *op. cit*, no. 208 ; *IC*, VI, 289. verse 11.

[97] Vide *BEFEO XLIII*, 91. Lines 65-66.

[98] The Stele of Kuk Trapan Srok, lines 22-24 ; *IC*, II, 130.

[99] Cf. Coedes, *The Making of South-East Asia*, 223.

[100] *Rechercher sur les origins brahmaniques des lois Cambodgiennes.*

The science of Gandharvavidyā or music had also its votaries in the highest as well as commonality of the realm. We learn from the Prah Ko Inscription of Indravarman, dated 879, that there were "many beautiful dancing girls, girls versed in vocal and instrumental music, skilful in playing on lyres and other (instruments) and well-versed in pipes and *tāla* (beating time). There were also large number of beautiful and well-dressed men, skilful in dancing and other arts...... (verses 35-36)".[102] Inscriptions have also preserved the names of some masters in the science of music. The Stele of Sdok Kak Thom, for instance, tells us that Sadāśiva, the royal chaplain to king Śūryavarman I, was proficient in music and several other subjects.

The sciences of *Dhanurveaa* (archery) and *Āyurveda* (the science of healing) also received due attention in Kambuja. Although a physician (Bhīṣak) is referred to as early as 707 in a Sanskrit charter of Kambuja,[103] the name of the famous author on Indian medicine, namely, Suśruta is not mentioned before the last quarter of the 9th century. Here he has been described as a "unique physician" (*eko vaidyaḥ*)[104] Yajñ .varāha, a unique product of Kambujan scholarship in the last part of the 10th century, was versed not only in various branches of philosophy, but also in medicine, music, etc.[105] A famous physician of the time of king Jayavarman V was Rājendravaidya, who has been described as "the greatest of those who were proficient in the sciences of Āyurveda and Dhanurveda."[106] Medicine or *Cikitsāśāstra* was also known to Sadāśiva, referred to earlier.[107] A treatise on the science of archery has also been referred to in verse 152 of the Stele of Pre Rup.[108]

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[101] For political background and other details of this person. vide Coedes, *The Indianized States*, 56.

[102] R C. Majumdar, *op. cit* , no. 55.

[103] Sambaur Pillar Inscription, dated 707 A.D. Vide *IC*, II, 85 : R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 49A.

[104] The Stele of Loley ; *ISCC*, 407, verse 49 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.* no. 61.

Among authors of other categories, one comes across the name of Vātsyāyana, the reputed author of the Kāmasūtra, in the stele of Thnal Baray, which was issued during the reign of king Yaśovarman I.[109]

The Paurāṇic literature was also very popular in Kambuja and both epigraphy and architecture bear eloquent testimony to this. A record of Kambuja dating from the sixth century tells us that the Brāhmaṇa Somaśarman, a brother-in-law of king Bhavavarman I of Kambuja, had dedicated a copy of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and a complete copy of the *Mahābhārata* as well as a copy of a *Purāṇa* for daily recitation before the deity named Tribhuvaneśvara.[110] In the 7th century, a MS of the Sambhava section of the Ādiparvan of the *Mahābhārata* was deposited at the temple by Bhavajñāna.[111] The inscriptions also refer to many well-known episodes of the epics, of which some are also portrayed on the bas-reliefs. It is however noteworthy that the details on the bas-reliefs do not always tally with those in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. Nor the Prambanan and Panataran reliefs of Java always do in appropriate cases. One of the most popular themes

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105. Inscription of Bantay Srei, *supra*.
106. Prasat Kok (South) Inscription. Vide Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.*, no. 887 ; *IC*. V 153, verse 5.
107. Stele of Sdok Kak Thom, verse 72. Vide *supra*.
108 *IC*. I. 33 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, 97.
109. *ISCC*, no. LIX, 483 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op* cit., no. 62. verse 82.
110. *ISCC*, no. IV, 30 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 13.
111. Coedes, *IC*, V, 41 : R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 41.

in South-East Asia was the episode of the Churning of the Milk Sea, which has not only been reflected in literature but also in the bas-reliefs. This story has indeed been immortalised in the eastern gallery of Angkor Vat.

In the Angkorean period, the Brāhmaṇa Śivasoma, preceptor of king Indravarman (877-889),[112] has been described as proficient in the *Purāṇa*, the (*Mahā*)*bhārata* and other treatises.[113] Another epigraphic text,[114] dating from the end or the beginning of the 11th century, refers to the recitation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the (*Mahā*) *bhārata*. The reign of king Sūryavarman I has also yielded epigraphic data referring to the recitation of the two great epics of India as well as *Purāṇas*.[115] The inscription of Prasat Saṅkhaḥ mentions the name of Vāgīśvarapaṇḍita who recited "numerous *purāṇas*......without omiting any one,"[116] while the Stele of Prasat Trapan Run presents to us Kavīdrapaṇḍita, professor of Sanskrit literature, who had learnt "the (*Mahā*)*bhārata* in full and the *Rāmāyaṇa*." M. Finot has observed[117] that the professor referred to above explained the *Mahābhārata* in the developed text (vistara) and this leads one to suppose that there was an abridged version of the text. This interpretation may or may not be correct, as the term *vistara* may simply stand for the term *mahā* not used in the designation of the (*Mahā*)*bhārata*. Be that as it may, kings were also captivated by the epic stories and the king Sūryavarman I is stated in the inscription of Prasat Khna (Mlu Prei) to be fond of stories from the (*Mahā*)*bhārata*[118] The Sanskrit portion of the Stele of Samrong[119] refers to the Bhadreśvarāśrama and, after a lacuna, to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which was apparently recited there, as per practice in many other āśramas or hermitages of Kambuja. It was quite in the fitness of things that scenes of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavatpurāṇa* occur at Angkor Vat, while fresco paintings in the interior of the two temples of Prasat Neang Khamau depict Kṛṣṇa lifting Mount Govardhana.[120]

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[112] R, C. Majumdar, *cp. cit.* nos. 73, 91. 152.

[113] *IC*, I, 40 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 54, verse 42

[114] Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit* , no. 744.

[115] *Ibid*, no. 218.

[116] *IC*, III, 48.

[117] Quoted by K. K. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 42.

[118] Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.*, no. 661.

[119] *Ibid*, no. 258 ; *IC*, IV, 186.

Allusions to the episodes of epic literature also occur in many inscriptions of Kambuja. Several inscriptions dating from the reign of king Yaśovarman I refer to epic and mythological stories, particularly from the *Harivamśa.*[121] The 35th stanza of the Loley inscriptions of this king refers to the episode of Dilipa and the celestial cow Nandini'[122] the 55th stanza to Arjuna shooting at the target in Draupadī's *svayamvara* as described in the *Mahābhārata*[123] Similarly, the Ta Tru Inscription, dated 978, refers to the holy river Kālindī (Yamunā) where Kṛṣṇa passed his childhood.[124] The Vedic story of seduction of Ahalyā by Indra, also occurring in many Paurāṇic texts, has been referred to in verse no. 95 in the Eastern Baray Stele inscription of Yaśovarman I. There are many other allusions of this type.

Literature belonging to the Śaiva school of thought was studied intensively, as Śaivism constituted, for the main part, the religion of the Kambujan royal family. with the Devarāja -liṅga serving as the palladium of the dynasty. It seems that an early phase of Śaivism in Kambuja pertained to the Pāśupata sect,[125] but no worthwhile Tāntrik Śaiva

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120. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 83, p 577.
121. Barth, *ISCC*, 416-17.
122. Vide Kālidāsa, *Raghuvamśam*, canto II.
123. Bas relief B 21 of Angkor Vat is believed by some scholars to represent the *svayamvara* of Draupadī, but others believe this to be the *svayamvara* of Sitā Vide the discussion of Coedes, Les bas-relieves d'Angkor Vat, *BCAI* (1911), 187.
124. *BEFEO XXV*, 370; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 112 A, verse in fragment 2.
125. Stele of Phnom Prah Vihar (639). Vide *supra*.

text is mentioned in the inscriptions, till we come to the time of the famous Sdok Kak Thom Stele inscription of Udayāditya II, described by Dr. R. C. Majumdar as "historically the most important in the whole series of Kambuja inscriptions".[126] Certain details of this inscription refer to the time of king Jayavarman II (802-850) who had invited the the Brāhmaṇa Hiraṇyadāma, "well-versed in magical science", who performed a ritual according to *Vraḥ Vināśikha*, and taught *Vraḥ Vināśikha, Nayottara, Sammoha and Śiraścheda.* The inscription further tells us that "he recited them from beginning to end in order that they may be written and taught them to Śivakaivalya."

B. R. Chatterjee[127] has drawn attention to the fact that among the tantras of the Viṣṇukrāntā region (which includes Bengal and extends up to Chttagong) there are two texts, the Sammohana and the Niruttara Tantras, the titles of which very nearly corresponds to two of the texts referred to in the Kambujan inscriptions. A deeper study of the problems connected with these texts led P. C. Bagchi to think[128] that the Nayottara might be the same as the Naya-and the Uttarasūtras, which constitute a section of *Niḥśvāsatattva Saṃhitā*, now preserved in a MS-form dating from the 8th century, but whose original may go back to the 6th-7th century A. D. Regarding the *Śiraścheda*, he thinks it might be the same as *Jayadrath Yāmala*, of which Vināśikha might have been a supplement, but the character of the Sammoha still remains undetermined. All these texts are to be placed in the orbit of Śaiva Tāntrik literature.

Indeed, the Śaiva Tantras, on account of high royal patronage, continued to be deeply studied in Kambuja. During the reign of king Yaśovarman I, study of Tāntrik literature of the Śaiva schools continued unabated. The Stele of Phnom Bayang[129] informs us that the ascetic

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[126] *IK*, p. 363.

[127] *History of Indonesia*, 94.

[128] *Studies in the Tantras*, pt. I, 15.

[129] *Supra.*

Amarabhāva knew the meaning of the Śaiva Tantras, suggesting apparently those of the Tantras which pertained to the sect of the Pāśupatas, which became particularly prominent in Bengal and Kambuja during time. In fact, the Śaivite sect of the Pāśupatas and the Viṣṇuite sect of the Pāñcarātras also find specific mention in another inscription of this time.[130] What is more interesting is that these doctrines were taught by competant *adhyāpakas* or professors. A scholar named Caitanyaśiva, who flourished during the reign of Harṣavarman II (941-c. 943), has been described in an inscription[131] as the best of the *ācāryas* or preceptors and "the foremost in the Śivaite śāstras." The doctrines of the Pāñcarātra were also studied during the reign of the king Rājendravarman (944-68).[132] Treatises on the Śivaite Yoga as well as the *Śivasamhitā* were studied by Viṣṇukumāra and his elder brother Yajñavarāha during the reign of king Jayavarman V.[133] This *Śivasamhitā* has not been adequately described to permit of any attempt towards its identification. Inscription of the Saigon museum[134] also speaks of scholars versed in the Śaiva doctrines. The study of Śivaite legends has been attributed to the Brahmin Vāgīśvarapaṇḍita[135] who seems to have flourished during the reign of Sūryavarman I.

Studies of Yoga literature or practising the discipline of Yoga have been referred to in several inscriptions. A person whose mind was devoted to Yoga (yogāsaktānanaḥ) has been mentioned in the Lovek inscription.[136] The yogin named Śikhāntācārya, chaplain to king Indravarman, has been eulogised as versed in the Śaiva Āgamas.[137] In an inscription dating from 1074, the ascetic Śivasoma has been described as well-versed in Yogic discipline,[138] but more interesting is a reference to the Guhyaṭīkā, obviously an unpublicised commentary on a tāntrik text, in another inscription,[139] but there is no means to identify this work. Equally interesting is the inscription of Prasat Rohan Romas,[140] dating from the tenth century. It mentions the name of a Sanskrit text called Śivadharma, apparently of the Tāntrik school and quotes two stanzas from that text at the end. K. K. Sarkar has identified[141] this work on the basis of its title with an *Upapurāṇa* of the same name, as given in the *Skandapūrāṇa*. A Stele of Angkor Vat also refers to a Siddharṣi. who has been described as fit to receive the honour from those who know the discipline of Yoga.[142] Another Śaiva Tāntrik text referred to in a Kambujan inscription from 968[143] is the *Parameśvara*, which is identified by some scholars with the *Parameśvarāgama*, a fundamental text of the Liṅgāyat sect founded by Vāsava in the 12th century. This *Parameśvara* is believed, on the other hand, by P. C. Bagchi[144] to be no other than the *Pārameśvaratantra*, also called *Pārameśvaramatatantra*, one of the 18 Āgamas mentioned in the *Niḥśvāsasamhitā*-list, of which a MS goes back to the middle of the 8th century, as stated earlier.

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[130] Stele of Prasat Komnap, verse 62. Vide *supra*. Regarding the Pañcarātra-sect in Cambodia, vide K. Bhattacharya in *JGIS XIV* (1955), 107-16 ; *Les Religions bramaniques dans l'ancien Cambodge*, publ, EFEO, XLIX (1961).

[131] Prasat Anlon Car Inscription. Vide *supra*.

[132] Kuk sla Ket Inscription, North Pillar. Vide *IC*, V, 121.

[133] Bantay Srei Inscription of Jayavarman V.

[134] Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.*, no. 431.

[135] Prasat Sankhah Inscription, verse 22 ; *IC*, III, 48 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 149 A.

[136] *ISCC*, no. 17. B, verse 6, 130.

Buddhist literature and philosophy were also studied in Kambuja, though not as extensively as in the case of the Hinduistic ones. In the pre-Angkorean period, a record from

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[137] Stele of Tuol Ta Pec. Vide IC. V, 253 ; Coedes and Parmentier *op. cit*, no. 831, verse 78.

[138] Pon ken Kan. Vide Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.*, no. 176.

[139] Stele of Prasat Tor. Vide *IC*, I, 231 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit*, no. 180. verse .

[140] *IC*, V, 193 ; Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.*, no. 152.

[141] *Op. cit.*, 50.

[142] Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.*, no. 300 and K. K. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 45.

[143] Bantay Srei Inscription. *supra*, verse 30.

[144] P. C. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras, pt. I* (1939), 16.

627 speaks of the Brāhmaṇa Vidyāviśeṣa, whom I have referred to earlier, as "the highest authority on Buddhism and other subjects."[145] The study of Buddhist literature became extensive in the Angkorean period. It has been related of king Rājendravarman that he understood the doctrines of the Buddhist philosophy.[146] The successor of this king, namely Jayavarman V, had an erudite *guru* named Yajñavarāha, who was versed, among other subjects, in the doctrines of Buddha.[147] The king's patronage was extended to Buddhism and several Buddhist texts are referred to in the inscriptions of his time. In verses 28 and 29 of the Stele of Vat Sithor,[148] it has been said of the great scholar Kīrtipaṇḍita that he has not only "searched in a foreign country multitudes of philosophical works and works such as the commentary on the *Tattvasamgraha*, but also propagated the study of them. He is said to have also "rekindled the torch of the *Madhyavibhāga* and other Śāstras". In verse 72 of the same inscription, there is also reference to *pratityotpādana*, *Brahmaghoṣa* and the *Sadharma-ārṣabha*. These have been described as the *Gāthā-Veda*, which seems to be the Sacred Book of Songs for the Buddhists. K. K. Sarkar thinks however that this may be the *Gāthāsaṃgrahaśāstra* of Vasuvandhu. Since Vasu(bandhu)'s name also occurs in an inscription from the time of Yaśovarman I, this may not be impossible, but if one is to be guided by name alone, it would appear as if the text refers to verse—or *Gāthā-jātakas* as were adopted into the cannon.[149] None of these books have however been satisfactorily identified, but the first mentioned one may be connected with the *Pratityaamutpāda* in some way or other. The *Tattvasamgraha* referred to above is very likely to be the eighth-century philosophical text written by Śāntarakṣita, of which a com-

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[145] Inscription of Sambor Prei Kuk. Vide *supra*.

[146] Inscription of Ankor IV, Mebon (952). Vide *supra*.

[147] Bantay Srei Inscription, Vide *supra*,

[148] Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.* no. 111.

[149] For detaiis of such works, vide Winternit, *A History of Indian Literature II*, 120-25.

mentary was written by another famous monk-scholar named Kamalaśīla.[150] If this view be correct, it would appear that Kīrtipaṇḍita who travelled to a foreign country[151] for some Buddhist texts was interested in the study of the above-mentioned Mahāyāna text, which was written from the standpoint of the Svātantrika Yogācāra school and in which Śāntarakṣita criticised various Buddhist and non-Buddhist philosophical schools of his day. The *Madhyavibhāga* referred to in the inscription may be Vasubandhu's *Madhyānta-Vibhāga*, for which reference may be made to the Tibetan Bu-ston. The proposed identification receives support from the consideration than Paramārtha or Guṇaratna of Ujjayinī (Ujjain) went to Funan (later Kambuja) and thence to Nan-hai in southern China in 546, reaching Nanking two years later. During his 23 years' stay in China, he translated 64 works, of which *Madhyānta*-Vibhāga Śāstra (Nanjio, no. 1248) was one. The association of Paramārtha with both Funan-Kambuja and the translation of the *Madhyānta-Vibhāga* thus becomes significant in the light of the inscriptional evidence. For want of particulars, the proposed identifications are to be treated as tentative. The teaching of the laws of Buddha has also been suggested in the incription of Prasat Kok.[152] A *Pāramītantra*[153] has also been referred to in an inscription of Sūryavarman I. Pārami or Pāramitā, "the highest perfection", is a technical term referring to the ten or six perfections which a Bodhisattva possesses. These are generosity, virtue (obedience to commandments), renunciation of the world, wisdom, energy, patience, truthfulness, determination, friendliness to all living beings and equanimity.[154] The term Pārami or Pāramitā does not occur in the earliest texts or in the *Jātaka-gāthās*, but figure sometimes in the *Jātaka*-commentaries. Close contact with South-East Asia since the day of I-tsing might have been responsible for the introduction of such Buddhist texts.

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[150] Both have been edited by E. Krishnamacharya in Gaekwad Oriental Series nos. XXX and XXXI. The life and work of these scholars have been discussed by B. Bhattacharya in his foreward to these volumes.

[151] It may either be the Śailendra or the Pāla-empire.

[152] Coedes and Parmentier, *op. cit.*, no. 339.

[153] *BEFEO IV*, 674.

[154] Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, 89, 101 ff. ; Kern, *Manual*, 66 ; B. C. Law, *Cariyāpiṭaka*, 2nd edn.. 11ff.

Buddhist stories were also becoming popular. During the reign of king Jayavarman VII (1181-c. 1218) was issued the Grand Stele of Phimanakas,[155] which informs us, in verse 73, that queen Jayarājadevī entrusted a body of nuns recruited from caste-away girls (verses 79-80) with the task of presenting some *Jātaka*-stories on the stage. This is understandable, because as early as the reign of Jayavarman V, the king's preceptor Yajñavarāha is credited in verse 21 of the inscription of Bantay Srei[156] with the work of redacting some small stories as well as the staging of dramas ("*prayoktā nāṭakasya*").

Some of the inscriptions also refer to the Buddhist doctrines of the Yogācāra-school.[157] It is usually believed that the founder of the Yogācāra-chool was Asaṅga or Āryāsaṅga. This school of thought enunciates Vijñānavāda, which signifies that nothing exists outside consciousness. The practice of Yoga also plays an important part in Hīnayāna Buddhism, but here it seems to be associated with Tāntrik Buddhism[158] Yajñavarāha, the great *guru* of Jayavarman V, is also described in an inscription as proficient in the doctrines of Buddha.[159]

Some of the texts mentioned in the inscriptions are not well-known in India, but may be those which have identical or similar Indian names. As we have no idea regarding the contents of less well-known texts mentioned in the

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155. Vide *supra.*
156. *Supra.*
157. Stele of Pre Rup, verse 275 ' *IC*, V, 102.
158. On the teachings of the Yogācāra school, one may consult La Vallee Poussin, *Buddhism*, 200ff ; Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, 31 ff.
159. Inscription of Bantay Srei. Vide *supra.*

inscriptions, the question of identification in such cases will always remain uncertain, unless the discovery of fresh inscriptions clinches the issue. Subject to these observations, which are also applicable in some cases referred to above, as clearly stated therein, there are some other texts whose identity can not also be easily established. One such text is the *Subhāṣitaratna*, which is mentioned in a record dated 1002. K. K, Sarkar thinks [160] that it may be the same as the *Subhāṣita-ratnasandoha* written by Amitagati, the brother of Kṣemendra, living about the year 994. As the text has some connexion with Jaina ethics, which had hardly any bearing on the religious life of Kambuja, it is more likely that the work in question is the *Snbhāṣita-ratna-kāraṇḍaka-kathā* of Āryaśūra, because, the name of this author already appears in an inscription from the time of king Yaśovarman I.

It is however interesting to note that the fame of many Indian authors had travelled to far-flung Kambuja. In the Eastern Baray Inscriptions of king Yaśovarman I,[161] we come across the name of Vātsyāyana, while in another inscription of the same period[162] Pravarasena has been described as the author of the *Setubandha*. The poet Bhāravi seems also to be mentioned in verse 31 of the Eastern Baray Stele inscription of the same king,[163] while Guṇāḍhya, the Prakṛt author, is mentioned in verse 69. Besides, the same inscription describes Viśālākṣa as the author of the work on *nīti*, while Śūra is referred to as having humiliated a rival named Bhīmaka. Jina has also probably been referred to as the writer of one of the Pūrvas named Kalyāna. Verse 70 also mentions the name of the poet Mayūra. The reference to so many writers in one reign undoubtedly indicates the brisk study of Sanskrit literature during the reign of king Yaśovarman. When we remember that the inscriptions in which the names of these authors occur have been written in the North Indian script, one may well

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160. *Op. cit.*, 50.
161. *ISCC*, 474 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 62, verses, 82 and 53.
162. *ISCC*, 32 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. ctt.*, no. 63, verse 34.
163. *ISCC*, 452 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 64, verse 31.

believe that the transmission of these works to Kambuja might be due to the North Indian immigrants or travellers, whose number must have been considerable.

Guṇāḍhya, the author of the *Bṛhatkathā* (the Great Romance), is generally believed to have composed this work sometime in the first or second century A.D., but this view is not shared by others.[164] It was originally written in the Paiśācī dialect, but his work has been preserved only in fragments in the Prākṛt grammar of Hemacandra. (IV, 303-24) and in Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.*[165] At least three works stemmed from the writings of Guṇāḍhya, viz. the *Bṛhatkathāślokasamgraha* of Budhasvāmin, *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva. If Guṇāḍhya's work in the original was not extant in the time of Yaśovarman, the *Bṛhatkathāślokasamgraha*, composed in the 9th or early 10th century, must have been the basis for the reputation of Guṇāḍhya in Kambuja, as the other two works referred to above were composed in the eleventh century. Vātsyāyana the famous author of *Kāmasūtra*, was the writer par excellence on Indian erotics and he virtually superseded the earlier writers on the subject, such as Bhābhravya of Pāñcāls, Gonardīya, Suvarṇābha, Cārāyaṇa, Ghoṭakamukha etc., whom he often quotes for criticism but the date for the composition of his work has not been satifactorily determined, as different scholars have placed it between the first and the fifth century.[166] Viśālākṣa is mentioned as an author on *nīti* in Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*, which is placed by some scholars in the 7th-8th century.[167] Sūra or Āryasūra, whom Tāranātha believed to be no other than Aśvaghoṣa himself, was a poet who composed the

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[164] Vide S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature* I, 687-95.

[165] Vide V. Raghavan, "The original Paiśacī *Brhatkathā*" in *Bhāratakaumudi*, 575-88.

[166] H. C. Chakladar, *Studies on Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtras*, 30-40; Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 469.

[167] Harihara Sastri in *IHQ, III*, 169-71; S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature I.* 207-17.

Jātakamālā, probably sometime in the 4th century.[168] It may be recalled that I-tsing (end of the 7th century) praised the *Jātakamālā* as being popular in India during his time. Bhīmaka is not a well-known author, but specimens of his poetry may survive in the Sanskrit anthologies. The poet Mayūra is traditionally recognised as the father-in-law of Bāṇa,[169] the court poet of Harṣa, and is celebrated as the author of the *Sūryaśataka*, which is alluded to in the text of the inscription.[170] Another author mentioned in the inscription of Yaśovarman I is the *Setubandha*, also called *Rāvaṇavaho*, of Pravasasena,[171] who may have reigned in Kaśmir in the 5th or 6th century.[172]

Admirers of Kālidāsa, the greatest of the Sanskrit authors, would feel disappointed that whereas lesser poets of India have been mentioned, the name of the greatest of them is nowwhere to be found. V. Raghavan, while discussing these Kambujan inscriptions, has however observed,[173] "Bāṇa's description of king Śūdraka at the opening of the *Kādambarī* is echoed in inscription no. 28, p. 36, v. 2, but[174] Bhārabi to some extent and, to the largest extent and in a most pronounced manner, Kālidāsa and his two poems *Kumārasambhava* and *Raghuvamśa* are seen at almost every step in these inscriptions." I shall not be prepared to say that this has been proved, as the themes handled by Kālidāsa occur in many paurāṇic works, but the Vaidarbhī style of Kālidāsa and of many other Kambujan poets, flowing in a sort of "effortless assonance", along with close similarity in expressions, raises a strong presumption in favour of the view of Raghavan.

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[168] Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature II* (193), 276.

[169] B. Sharma, *Harṣa and His Times*, 325-27.

[170] Eastern Baray Stele Inscription. Vide *ISC*, 452 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no 64, verse 70.

[171] Eastern Baray Stele Inscription. Vide *ISC*, 432 ; R. C. Majumdar, *ap. cit.*, no. 63, verse 34.

[172] Vide S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, *op.*, *cit.*, 119.

[173] *Proceedings of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists, IV*, 49.

[174] The nos. refer to those in R. C. Majumdar, *IK*.

Among poets living in the last quarter of the 9th century, Śrīnivāsakavi is said to have surpassed all others in eminence.[175] A new *Kāvya* (poetical work) entitled *Manohara* has been supposed to be mentioned in verse 221 of the Pre Rup Stele inscription of Rājendravarman dated 961, but V. Raghavan has pointed out[176] that it is not the name of a text, but "seems to be only one more epithet to *kāvye* (*navārthe*) and no Sanskrit work seems to have been mentioned here as composed locally".

The Angkor Vat inscription, which is the last Sanskrit inscription of Kambuja, was composed by the Brahmin scholar Vidyeśadhīmant who had served under three Kambuja kings. The inscription bears the burden of Śaiva mysticism[177]

There are also folk-tales in Kambuja which correspond to those in India and one such story has been presented by B. R. Chatterji[178] from the edition of M. Pavie.[179] The story is told in verses. It describes how due to the machinations of the step-mother, two princes named Saurivong and Vervong were ordered by his father, the king, to be executed, but the executioner took pity on them and let them escape. Two gods taking the disguise of cocks, fought near the tree, under which the two brothers were asleep. The cocks ultimately killed each other, but not before stating that one who ate the flesh of the first speaker would be the ruler of two kingdoms after seven years, while the second one stated that the eater of its flesh would be ruler after seven months. Saurivong, the elder brother ate the flesh of the second cock, while Vervong ate that of the first. Now, on another occasion, while the princes were sleeping in a lonely rest-house, the royal elephant of the king of that kingdom, who had died and had no son, came to the place and picked up Saurivong, who was crowned king and married to the princess.

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[175] Prasat Kok Po Inscription, 883 A.D. Vide *BEFEO XXXVII*, 387; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 58.

[176] *Op cit.*. 48.

[177] Barth and Bergaigne, *ISC*, 585-88.

[178] *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, 245 ff.

[179] *Cantes du Cambodge*, 169-263.

Meanwhile, the younger brother, on waking up, did not find his elder brother and moved on to the kingdom of Thornit, but was arrested on being found with a diamond ring on his finger. He was imprisoned in a cage for six years on the sea-side. Now, princess Kessey, daughter of Thornit, was informed by Indra in dream that the caged prisoner would be her husband. Now, when Thornit was requested by Sotat, a neighbouring king, to help him in his fight against a giant, king Thornit agreed to do so. Thornit collected a fleet, but the flag-ship would not move, until the imprisoned prince was set free. The young prince now launches the ship and accompanies Thornit to help the friend of the latter. Due mainly to the bravery of the young prince, the giant was defeated. Now Sotat abdicated the throne in favour of Vervong, who now marries princess Kessey, but misfortune was in store for Vervong and Kessey, as they suffered ship-wreck while travelling and became separated. The queen took shelter with a hunter's family and there she gave birth to a child. Being unable to bear the agony of privations and cruelty of the hunter's wife, the queen tied the diamond ring of Vervong round the neck of her child and left her charge with an old woman, who was Indra in disguise. The old woman put the child on the highway just before Saurivong was to pass by that way. The king recognised the diamond ring and adopted the child. On the walls of the palace where the baby lived were depicted scenes of the early life of Saurivong and Vervong, till the time of their separation. People from far and near thus saw the story. Vervong who was searching for his wife everywhere came to the palace, recognised the scenes and found his lost brother. Meanwhile, Indra, in the disguise of an old woman, also led queen Kessey to the palace to see the child, who was thus restored to her. The two brothers then led their armies to the country of their father, overthrew their step-brother and were reconciled to their old father.

The main outlines of the story, as Chatterji has pointed out, follow the Bengali folk-tale,[180] where the two princes called Śīta and Vasanta are sentenced to death on account of machinations of their step-mother, but escape through mercy of the executioner. The episode of the two cocks, the royal elephant taking away sleeping Śīta and making him king, the captivity of Vasanta by a merchant whose ship would not float till Vasanta touched it, the marriage of Vasanta with a princess, journey in the sea where the merchant threw him into the sea, etc., are exactly alike. The story might have travelled to Kambuja during the days when the Pāla emperors of Bengal and Bihar had close contact with Indo China. The story does not appear to be of Austric/Austro-Asiatic origin.

Apart from this folk-tale, all the works referred to in the inscriptions of Kambuja do not physically exist any more. It seems possible that the adoption of Bhuddhism by the the king and the people of Kambuja, as indeed by other states of Indo-China, consigned the Hindu literature, which was considerable, to cruel neglect and thus gradually disappeared. The oldest poem in Cambodian that can be dated with certainty is an inscription dated 1702, the date being recorded on the walls of Angkor Vat.[181] There are also a few cosmological treatises known generally as *Traiveda* (Traipet) and the *Ramakirti* (Rama Ḳer), of uncertain date, based on the *Rāmāyaṇa.* This later Cambodian literature is however isolated from the base of its ancient civilisation. The written Cambodian prose and poetical works have indeed many archaic and loan-words from Pāli and Sanskrit,[182] but the poems are mostly anonymous and undated. Some of them bear precepts of Buddhism, but more pronounced Buddhism is imprinted on Cambodian prose literature. A large part of it contains religious texts, such as translations of canonical texts or treatises of exegesis, adaptations from the early lives of Buddha, etc The most famous of such edifying texts is the Vessantara-*Jātaka.*

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[180] D. C. Sen, *Folk Literature of Bengal,* 166 ff.

[181] A. Aymonier, *Le Cambodge III,* 313.

[182] Coedes, *TheMaking of South-East Asia,* 202.

The apocryphal Fifty Jataka stories, of which the last ten were very popular, have also provided the themes of many novels.[183] Legends of the *Rāmāyaṇa*-cycle have also influenced a number of Cambodian poems. Both these sources have served as quarries for the Cambodian drama. As we do not wish to deal with modern Cambodian literature, we do not wish to proceed further in the matter.

A study of the foregoing pages must have indicated that the dimension of the Sanskrit language and literature in Kambuja was astonishingly large, as very few branches of Sanskrit learning have been left out of its orbit. The literary stream which was being fed from India in the days of Funan's greatness became very strong during the Angkorean period, particularly from the reign of king Yaśovarman I to the reign of Sūryavarman I, i.e. from the later part of the 9th century to the middle of the 11th century, a period of about 160 years. Thereafter it stagnated, till it changed its moorings from Hinduism to Buddhism, creating a new set-up and new literary ideals. Though less accentuated, the situation resembled, to a certain extent, the situation obtaining in Java after the introduction of Islam, as we shall see later on.

The extra-ordinary range of ancient Kambujan language and literature was mainly due to meet the demands of religion, particularly Hinduism, almost all the texts are connected with religion in some way or other. So far as the present data go, the Brāhmaṇas bore the major share, if not all, for the propagation of this knowledge. The temples, āśramas, alms-houses,[184] scattered in different parts of Kambuja served as radiating centres for this learning. Āśramas possessing MSS of all sorts, as sometimes referred to in the inscriptions, helped in this process.[185] There were also women disciples who sometimes furthered this objective.[186]

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[183] *Ibid*, 203.

[184] R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 26A.

[185] *Ibid*, no. 173.

[186] *Ibid*, no. .48.

CHAPTER X

THE ANCIENT LITERATURE OF CAMPĀ

The oldest record in the Cām language goes back to the fourth century A.D.,[1] but no specific Sanskrit text is known to have been studied in Campā at that remote period. Fortunately for us, the Sanskrit inscriptions of Campā, numbering over a hundred, some of which are quite lengthy, offer us specimens of Sanskrit composition, the only ones available at present from that ancient period. The authors of these inscriptions have some times committed mistakes, even blunders, of grammar, spelling, etc., but inspite of these draw backs, they have used Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody with good effect and the earliest use of the Mandākrāntā-metre outside India is to be found here.[2] Besides using various kinds of Sanskrit metres, the inscription poets have handled the subject-matter of their records in an artificial style, using *śleṣas*, *anuprāsas*, etc., as are to be found in the Sanskrit poems of India. In some cases of alliteration, at least, the author of an inscription[3] could have very well challenged the boastful Ghaṭakarpara in his technique.[4]

The kings are sometimes described as versed in sacred literature. We thus come to learn that king Bhadravarman I (third quarter of the fourth century) was versed in the four *Vedas*[5] The claim may or may not be valid, because, Sanskrit inscription in which this claim has been made is couched in corrupt Sanskrit prose. To judge by the designations, an accomplished ruler of Campā was king Indravarman III (918-50), who has been described as proficient

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1. Codes, Les plus acienne inscription en langue cham (Inscription de Dong-yen-chau) in *F. W. Thomas Volume*, 1939, 46-49.
2. *BEFEO III*, 200 ; R. C, Majumdar, *Champā*, Book II, no. 7.
3. No. 55 in R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*
4. The text is in Sragdharā metre and runs as follows :
"Bhūtābhūteśabhūta bhuvi bhavavibhavodbhāvabhāvāvātmābhāvā
Bhāvābhāvāsvabhāvā bhavabhavakabhavābhāvabhāvaikabhāvā/"
5, *BEFEO II*, 187 ; R. C. Majumdar *op. cit.* no. 4.

in six branches of Hindu philosophy, beginning with Mīmāṅsā, as well as in the philosophy of Jinendra i.e. Buddha. He is also said to have been versed in the grammar of Pāṇini as well as in *Kāśikā*, *Ākhyāna* and the *Uttarakalpa* of the Śaivas.[6] These appears to have been diligently studied by the king, "because, among the learned, he was the most skilful in all these subjects." As these subjects were also studied in Kambuja, there seems to have been some sort of communion between these two countries in this regard. Be that as it may, the Lai-trung stelae inscription,[7] probably dating from about the same period, also speaks of a minister of the king who had proficiency in the sacred scriptures and was skilful in composing hymns of praise.

It was during the reign of king Śambhuvarman that the Chinese general Liu-Fang sacked the capital-city in 605 and took the golden tablets of 18 kings who had ruled over the country before Śambhuvarman. The said general also carried to China 1350 Buddhist texts[8] The large number of texts is suggestive of the activity of the Buddhist community of Campā in the beginning of the 7th century. A later ruler of Campā, king Jaya Indravarman of Gramapura (1167-1190) has been described as "dexterous in the use of all weapons.........proficient in all the Śāstras; versed in grammar, astrology, etc.; knowing all the philosophical speculations; expert in the doctrine of Great Vehicle. etc.; proficient in all the dharmaśāstras, especially following the Nāradīya and the Bhārgavīya; deriving pleasure from the pursuit of dharma........"[9]

Even if there be exaggeration, which is very likely, it may yet be admitted that at least these śāstras were studied, if not wholly by the king, by other Brahmin scholars of contemporary Campā. Apart from the impressive range of subjects mentioned, the king has been described as proficient in the Nāradīya and the Bhārgavīya dharmaśāstras. It is therefore interesting to note that the extant *Manusmṛti* of India calls itself a redaction of the texts of Bhṛgu and Nārada. This is understandable, because in chap. I. v. 60, the whole text is said to have been narrated by Bhṛgu, who had originally learnt it from Manu.[10] The knowledge of *Manusamhitā* must have been an essential part of the education of princes, because, in the Mi-son stele inscription, dated 1081,[11] the Cām portion of the text ascribes to His Majesty king Harivarmadeva not only knowledge in 64 *kalās* (arts), the four expedients of *sāma* (conciliation), *dāna* (gift), *bheda* (discord) and *daṇḍa* (chastisement), but also in the 18 titles of law, prescribed by Manu. Similarly, Jaya Indravarman IV, in his Mi-son stelae inscription, dated 1170,[12] has been eulogised as "versed in all śāstras, such as grammar, astrology, etc., learned in all the philosophical doctrines, e.g. the doctrines of Mahāyāna......versed in all the dharmaśāstras, notably the Nāradīya and Bhārgavīya . ...There is therefore hardly any doubt about the fact that the *Manusamhitā* served as the matrix of the legal system of Campā, as of other places of South-East Asia, as the following pages of this book will also demonstrate. It is however regrettable that the procedure in the law-courts of ancient Campā cannot be satisfactorily ascertained.

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[6] *BEFEO XI*, 268; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 45.
[7] *BEFEO XI*, 15; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 46.
[8] R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, 120.
[9] Finot, Les Inscriptions de Mi-son, 965 ff.

Hindu religious texts, particularly the epic, were assiduously studied in Campā. The popularity of the Sanskrit epics in Campā was indeed as great as in Kambuja. We learn from an inscription of king Prakāśadharma of Campā (c. 653-79) that an image of Vālmīki, the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was installed at Tra-kien.[13] The inscription pointedly refers to the killing of the *cakrāvak*-bird by the hunter, which event profoundly shook Vālmīki to the roots and he gave spontaneous expression to his remorse in the form of verses.[14] In Campā, the seven kāṇḍas of the *Rāmāyaṇa* seem to have been known in this period, as the Mi-son inscription of this king seems to refer to an episode from the Uttarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as will be pointed out later on.

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[10] Vide also Chap. V, verses 1-3 and Chap. XII, verse 2.

[11] *BEFEO IV*, 933 (no. XII); R. C. Majumdar, *Champā, Book II*, no. 62.

[12] *BEFEO IV*, 970 (no, XXIV) ; *Ibid. XV*, no. 2, p. 50 and R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, no. 81.

[13] *BEFEO, XXVIII*, 149.

Besides the epics, the *purāṇas* also appear to have been widely studied in Campā, but unlike Java, no Purāṇa-text has been discovered in Campā or even definitely referred to in the inscriptions. The inscriptions are however prolific in their references to paurāṇic and epic episodes. These references begin to crop up, in a major way, from the reign of king Prakāśadharma. From his Mi-son stelae inscription of 657,[15] we come to learn not only about the marriage of Atri-Anasuyā, but also about Droṇa-Aśvatthama, Daśaratha and Rāma. Verse 30 of the text says, ".........And it has been said in the Śāstras that there is no greater meritorious act than the Aśvamedha and no greater crime than the murder of a Brāhmaṇa." The Mi-son stelae inscription of king Vikrāntavarman[16] not only reveals knowledge of the writer in the Gāyatrī-mantra, but also of some paurāṇic episodes. He extols Lord Rudra, who had "married the daughter of the icy Himālayas" and who "rides on the bellowing animal (bull)", "who at one and the same time destroyed the three cities belonging to Tripura-asuras for the peace of the worlds, making *praṇava* his strong bow, with the Sāvitrī as its bowstring......with the four *Vedas* as its horses, and Iḍā and Viriñca and its charioteers." This is an echo of the story described in the Anuśāsanaparva of the *Mahābhārata*.[17] The same inscription refers to the story of the burning of Madana (the God of Love) by the burning fire of Rudra's eyes, immortalised in the *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa (India), the *Smaradāhana* of Dharmaja (Java) and in the reliefs of Angkor Vat and Bayon of Kambuja.[18] The story has again been referred to in the Glai Lamov stelae inscription of Indravarman I, 801 A.D.[19] Some eulogy is paid to Lord Nārāyaṇa, in his posture of *anantaśayana* (eternal repose), "who had held aloft the Mt. Govardhana, who had destroyed Madhu, Kaṅsa, the demon Keśi, Cānura, Ariṣṭa, Pralamba and Madhu Kaiṭava." The churning of the Milk Sea by Mt. Mandara, immortalised by the Khmer sculptors, occurs in the Ādiparva-section of the *Mahābhārata* and in many paurāṇic texts and has been referred to in another inscription. Reference to Yudhiṣṭhir, Duryodhana, Dhananjaya, Yuyutsu and some others indicates familiarity of the authors of inscriptions with various parvas of the *Mahābhārata.*

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[14] The relevant verses of the Tra-kien inscription run as follow:
"Yasya ślokāt samutpannam ślokam brahmābhipūjati,
Viṣṇoḥ puḥsaḥ purāñasya mānuṣasyātmarūpiṇaḥ/"

[15] *BEFEO* I*V*, 918 (no. III) ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit* , no. 12,

[16] *BEFEO*, *IV*, 930 (no. IX) ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit* , no. 17.

[17] Verses 7458 ff.

No significant Buddhist inscription is available from Campā, excepting the An-Thai stelae inscription, dated, 902,[20] which records the installation of a statue of Lokanātha by the sthavira Nāgapuṣpa, the abbot of the monastery of Pramudita-Lokeśvara, which was founded by king Bhadravarman II and confirmed by king Indravarman II (875-c-898). The inscription breathes the spirit of Vajrayana and there are references to Vajradhātu, Cakradhātu, Vajrasattva, Lokeśvara, Amitābha, etc.

The discussion of the inscriptions as made above would thus indicate that the scholars of ancient Campā were acquainted, if not with the full texts, at least with substantial parts of the following branches of Sanskrit learning, namely (1) the Vedas, (2) Grammar, particularly that of Pāṇini with Kāśikā, (3) Astrology, (4) Six systems of Indian philosophy, (5) Buddhist philosophy of the Vajrayāna system, (6) Epic and paurāṇic literature (7) the dharmaśāstras, including the Institutes of Manu and the Nārada (8) Classical Sanskrit literature and (9) Sectarian

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[18] *BCAI* (1911-12), 197, pl. XXVI, B, 232.

[19] Bergaigne, *Notices et extraits des Manuscripts de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, etc., Tome vingt-Sept., no. XXIII, 218.

[20] *BEFEO XI*, 277 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*. no. 37.

Hindu scriptures and texts.

When we compare the range of this literature with that of Kambuja and Indonesia, it will be found that the attainments of the Cām scholars in various branches of Sanskrit learning were far below than those of their compatriots in Indonesia and Kambuja. This might be due to the fact that constant warfare which ravaged Campā did not allow the people the brisk cultural pursuits of life, for which their achievements in the domain of both literature and fine arts have been comparatively less significant.

CHAPTER XI

THE INDIAN LITERATURE OF BURMA

The early traditional literature of Burma has not yet been properly studied or published.[1] Early Chinese texts bearing on the third century A.D. refer to a kingdom called P'iao, evidently the Indianized kingdon of Pyu which was located around the modern town of Prome. At Moza and Maungun, in the vicinity of Prome, have been discovered fragments of the Buddhist cannon in Pāli dating from the closing years of the 5th century. These documents prove the existence of a Buddhist colony of South Indian origin. Here lived, in the 7th and 8th centuries,[2] two Buddhist sects, namely the Theravādins whose language was Pāli and the Mūlasarvastivādins whose language was Sanskrit. Pyu and Pāli inscriptions from old Prome in early Telugu-Canarese script of South India, closely allied to the Kadamba script of Vanavāsi and the Pallava script of Kāñchī, have been found. The Pyus received their Indic scripts through the Mons, also called Talaings, who lived in the Ramanna-deśa in Lower Burma.

The Mon-country was one of the earliest tracts to be converted to Buddhism. It has already been stated how the fortune of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma was made by the missionary zeal of Shin Arahan and the conquest of Thaton by Anoratha, king of Pagan. Pagan thus became a great stronghold of Theravāda and Buddhist scholarship. The next milestone in the progress of Theravāda in Burma was fixed by Uttrajīva who himself hailed from Sudhammapura (Thaton) and established a religious centre there. His disciple was the great Chapada, who returned from Śrī Laṅkā after ten years of study, along with three colleagues, to Pagan, where king Narapatisisu (116) ruled. Chapada's death sparked off schism among his former colleagues and several schools collectively known as the Pacchāgama (later school), to distinguish them from the earlier school called Purimagṇa established by Shin Arahan at Pagan, cropped up.[3] King Kyocva, a great scholar himself, actively assisted in the propagation of Theravāda, but it received a temporary setback on account of the Pārupana Ekamsika controversy, but during the reign of Bodoah Pra (1781), the fifth son of Alomprā, the king decreed in favour of the Pārupana practices. The last great controversy occurred during the reign of Min-don-min (1852-77) over the question of an ancient sīmā in Śrī Laṅkā. The king took the initiative in the matter. Under royal auspices, a complete text of the *Tripiṭaka* was engraved on stone tablets and these were placed in the shrines.

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[1] *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma, tr.* Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, *passim.*
Regarding secondary works, vide Phayre, *History of Burma,* 1-23 ; D. N. Ray, *Role of Indians in Ancient Burmese History* published in *Prabuddha Bharata,* 1952.

[2] Blagden, The Pyu Inscriptions in *EI XII,* 127 and *JBRS VII* (1917) 37.

Now the political and religious history of Burma discussed in an outline in an earlier section of this work and above, we are now in a better position to fix up the story of its literature in this framework. In Burma Sanskrit has played a minor role, unlike that of any other country in South-East Asia, excepting Thailand. One has therefore to study first the impact of the Pāli language and literature, sometimes erroneously called Māgadhī bhāṣā, i.e., the idiom of Magadha or Mūla-bhāṣā i.e., the original language, on Burma.[4] By all accounts, this has been of far-reaching character and it contributed to the evolution of a Burmese vernacular around the 14th century. Burmese being an agglutinative language, Pāli shaped the Burmese language by lending its terseness, delicacy and volition to the new language; particularly in its nominal and verbal inflexions as well as in the formation of large compounds.

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[3] Bode (Ed.), *Śās.*, Introduction, xii.

[4] Bode, *PLB*, 16 ff. and B C. Law, *History af Pāli Literature II*, 636, Vide also H. Smith, *Saddanīti la grammaire Palie d' Aggavamsa Texte etabll.*

The knowledge of the Buddhist texts in Burma was as stated above derived from the Mons or Talaings of Ramannadeśa i.e., Lower Burma, and these people, in their turn, seem to have received this, in historical times, from Dhammapāla's country of southern India. The conquest of Thaton was attended with the physical removal of cartloads of Buddhist scriptures and other literature to Pagan, along with many monks and others, and thus the conquered people culturally conquered their conquerors in course of one generation. The beginning was somewhat tardy, but once it gathered momentum, it began to produce literary works of great excellence. Dr. Bode has observed, "The works then produced supplied the material or afforded the favourite models for much of the Pāli-Burmese literature of later times"[5].

I have already referred to fragments of Pāli canon as well as Pyu and Pāli inscriptions discovered in the earlier centuries from the region of Old Prome, but in their present state they can hardly be elevated to the class of literature. Even the thirteenth century specimens of Pāli-inscriptions from Pagan, dealing with religious or grammatical matters, are equally barren of literary merit. Besides, they bear the imprint of Śrī Laṅkā. Inscriptions in the native language do not also promise much, till we come to later centuries, but even then, themes drawn upon were those related to the epic-cycle from India or the Buddhist legends. There was however serious attempt to attune Sanskrit prosody to the rhythm and phonetics of the indigenous system, as far as practicable. Within these limitations, native scholars tried to reveal their literary capability and scholarly acumen.

This acquaintence with the Pāli language through the stimuli of religion and sacred literature inaugurated the process of writing Pāli works in Burma. Dr. Bode has

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5. *Op. Cit*; 14.

observed[6] that a safe starting point for the history of Pāli literature of Burma would be 11th century when the Pāli scriptures were introduced by the Talaing teachers to upper Burma, but the earliest specimens of literature written in the Burmese language has not survived earlier than the second half of the 15th century.[7] Such specimens refer to historical ballads, royal praśastis, tales on the early lives of Buddha based on the *Jātaka*-stories, etc. The most outstanding authors in the last category were Thilawuntha, who has the distinction of being the writer of the oldest extant prose works, and Ratathara, a Mon, who composed two poetical versions of the *Bhuridattajātaka*, one in 1484, and the other in 1494. The other important author was Aggathamadai, whose adaptations of the *Nemijātaka* appeared in the second quarter of the 16th century. The oldest extant play is the work of the celebrated poet Padethayaza (1684-1754), who is also credited with the composition of the first pastoral poetry, with beautiful burdens of peasant life.

The Burmese vernacular literature is doubtless a fascinating subject, but this being generally outside the scope of the present work let us now revert to the subject proper. Now, apart from Buddhist canonical literature and commentaries thereon and allied works, the scholars of Burma have also written on Indian grammars, prosody, rhetoric, nīti-literature, chronicles of various kinds, folk-tales, particularly the *Jātakas*, subjects of metaphysical discipline, nirvāṇa arhatship, meditation, virtue, exposition of law, causes of transmigration, manual of Abhidhamma, way to enlightenment, food, precepts on morality, charity, etc.[8] It is a fairly comprehensive list and is comparable to its Hindu counterpart in Kambuja. Let us begin with the canonical literature of Burma.

The Simhalese recension of the *Tripiṭaka* in Pāli naturally occupies the place of honour in Burma, but greater attention was devoted to the *Vinaya-piṭaka* and literature based thereon, as it concerned the monastic discipline of every-day life. We thus find a massive Vinaya-literature, both explanatory and controversial, in Pāli and the vernacular language of Burma. An epitome of the Vinaya-texts was produced in Śrī Laṅkā in the form of two metrical texts entitled the *Mūlasikkhā* and the *Khuddasikkhā*, which were very popular in Burma.

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[6] *Op. Cit.* 10.

[7] Hla Pe, *Letterature birmana (Le Civitta dell'oriente Littiratura*, Rome, 1957), 791.

[8] Cf Bode, *PLB*, 98.

Dr. Bode had observed[9] that when we look for the influence of Pāli literature on Burmese culture, it is in the *Sutta* that we find it, because, an immense variety of discourses, verses and legends make up the *Suttapiṭaka*. Piṭakas were studied in various ecclesiastical centres of Burma. According to tradition recorded in the *Śāsanavamsa*, the three piṭakas were written thrice in one city alone, in the city of Sudhamma in the Suvaṇṇabhūmi-country, apparently before the reign of king Aniruddha.[10] A large number of texts was devoted to the study of the Abhidhamma also. The most meritorious of these compositions, after the canonical *Dhammasaṅganī*, was the twelfth-century text called *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, which is a summary of Buddhist theories on mutual processes on existence and annihilation. The work has been translated or paraphrased numerous times. An exposition on the Abhidhamma commentary entitled *Madhurasāratthadīpanī* was written by Thera Ānanda who was a resident of the town of Haṁsāvatī.[11] Another scholar, the Elder Saddhammālaṅkāra, who also hailed from the same city, composed a treatise entitled the *Paṭṭhānasāratthadīpanī*.[12]

From the view-point of Pāli literature, the tradition of writing the *vamsas* or histories on the line of the *Dāṭhāvamsa* (13th century) i.e. the History of the Tooth or *Thūpavamsa*, the History of the Stūpas, of Śrī Laṅkā, has continued in Burma down the centuries, of which the latest are the *Chakesadhātuvamsa* (The History of the Six Hair Relic Shrines), the *Sāsanavamsa*[12a] (The History of the Books) written by Nandapanna, etc. The *Gandhavamsa* presents, in five chapters, an account of the Canon according to the Piṭakas and nine Aṅgas, besides recording the titles and sometimes the names of later authors of the Pāli texts, the reason for their writing the books, etc.

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[9] *Op. Cit.*, 60

[10] *Śās.*, 70.

[11] *Ibid.*, 53.

[12] *Ibid.*

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The Elder Saddhammajotipāla, also known as Chapada,[13] wrote a number of books in Pāli, of which the most important were the grammatical treatise called *Suttaniddesa* and the *Sankhepavaṇṇanā*, a commentary on the compendium of metaphysics called *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*. The difficult passages of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, from its seven books, were handled in Pāli in the Gūlhatthadīpanī by the famous scholar Saradassi. Another Pāli scholar named the Elder Guṇārāma attained so profound knowledge of the *Vinayapiṭaka* that he could recite the whole text.[14]

With the foundation of Ava (Pāli : Ratanapura) by the Burmese prince Sativa or Thado-min-byā in 1364 after the downfall of the Shan states of Panyā and Sagaing, a fresh impetus was given to the Burmese literary activity, but no noteworthy work seems to have been composed before the time of Ariyavaṁsa, a fifteenth-century monk of the Chapada-sect who had settled at Ava during the reign of Narapati (1442-68). A commentary entitled the *Maṇisāramañjuṣā* on the *Abhidhammatthabhāvanī* has been attributed to him. He also undertook, in later days, another Abhidhamma-study under the name of *Maṇidīpa*, which was a commentary on the *Atthasālinī* of Buddhaghoṣa. Another study on the *Abhidhamma* in the form of a commentary called Anuṭīkā was also undertaken by him.

[12a] In the BSOAS, 39, pt. I (1976) V. B. Lieberman, has shown ("A new look at the Sāsanavamsa") that it is "merely a heavily edited translation into Pāli of a Burmese-language composition entitled "Thathana-wun-tha sa-dan-tha-thana-lin-ga-yakyan" i.e. History of the Religion which is the adornment of the Religion. It was finished during the reign of Ba-gwi-daw in 1831 A.D.

[13] The *Śās.* says (p. 82) "At the conclusion of the books written by him, he is called by his original name of Saddhamma-jotipāla. But as he was born in the village of Chapada in Kusimanagara, he was known as Chapada after the name of the place.

[14] *Śās.*, 91.

It may be recalled in this connexion that Tripiṭakālaṁkāra, born in 1578, composed, while yet 15 years of age, not only a poetical version of the Vessantarajātaka in Pāli,[15] but also a commentary on the introductory verses of the *Atthasālinī*. He also wrote the *Yasavaḍḍhanavatthu* as well as the *Vinayalamkāraṭīkā.*

The unification of distracted Burma and the conquest of the northern Shan states as well as some parts of Thailand by Bayin Naung in the middle of the 16th century[16] extended the spheres of Burmese influence to Laos as well, where some scholarly monks composed works on sacred literature. Nāṇavilāsa, for instance, wrote the *Sāṅkhyāpakāsaka*, while Sirimaṅgala composed a ṭīkā on that work and the commentary called the *Maṅgaladīpanī.* At Pegu or Haṁsāvatī, some commentaries on the *Abhidhamma*-literature were brought out. The thera Saddhammālaṁkāra wrote the work called the *Patthanasāradīpanī*, and Mahānāma, a ṭīkā called the *Madhusāratthadīpanī.* The *Śāsanavamsa* refers to these texts without any date. It is noteworthy that, in the 17th century, vernacular religious literature showed greater vigour and developed around the older texts, but the earlier traditions of Pāli scholarship continued unabated. Before we take up the thread of Pāli literature again, let us make a brief survey of the vernacular religious literature of Burma proper as influenced by the *Abhidhammapiṭaka.*

The *Śāsanavamsa*, while discussing the history of the Buddhist religion of the Aparānta country in the Maramma Circle (Burma proper) tells us of the elder Aggadhammālaṁkāra, who flourished in the 17th century, that he interpreted in the Maramma language[17] the meaning of the book

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15. *Ibid.* 111 ; Fausboll, *Jātaka VI*, 479 ff.
16. Coedes, *The Making of South-East Asia*, 184.
17. *Śās.*, 117.

Kaccāyana[18] and also the *Abhidhammatthasamgaha*. He also wrote the Mātikā which offers the table of contents of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, being one of the most important texts of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. Besides, he is also credited with the composition of the *Dhātukathā*, the *Yamaka* and the *Paṭṭhāna*. Of these, the first mentioned text constitutes the fifth book of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, while the *Yamaka*, also known as the *Prakaraṇapada* of the Sarvāstivāda school,[19] constitutes the sixth book of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. The *Paṭṭhāna*, known as the *Jñānaprasthāna* among the Sarvāstivādins, is the last or the 7th book of the same Piṭaka.

The knowledge of Sanskrit and Pāli also facilitated the growth of the Burmese language and literature in the Aparānta country. The *Śāsanavamsa* tells us that the Elder Jambudhaja wrote in the Maramma language an exegesis of the Vinaya text and its commentary, while the Elder Maṇiratna interpreted in the Maramma language meaning of the sub-commentaries like the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī* and the *Samkhepavaṇṇanā*.[20] All the monks were not, of course, equally well-qualified to write or teach. One such Elder named Guṇābhilaṁkāra, for instance, "did not know truly the meaning of the original texts, commentaries, sub-commentaries and other books. He dwelt there[21] teaching his disciples only the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*." The condition seems to refer to the close of the 17th century. This can not be treated as the general picture, because, towards the middle of the same century, an Elder named Nāṇavara, who hailed from the Jālasutto village in the city of Kukhana, and was made a royal preceptor, is said to have been "well-versed in the original texts, commentaries or sub-commentaries and other books".[22] He first wrote an exegesis of the knotty words of the *Abhidhammatthasamgaha* for the audience who heard recitations of the canonical texts in the Hall of Justice. Towards the last quarter of the same century, another Elder of the Chapada-sect named Nandamāla, wrote in the Maramma language expositions of the *Vinayavinicchaya*, which contains a summary of the *Vinayapiṭaka* written by Buddhadatta [23] The *Suttasamgaha*,[24] being an anthology from the Suttas of the *Vimānavatthu*[25] as well as from the *Mahāvagga-commentary*, was also interpreted in the Maramma language by the same Elder. To another Elder from the contemporary period is attributed the authorship of a sub-commentary on the *Dīghanikāya* called the *Sādhujjanavilāsini*.[26] As late as the middle of the 19th century, another Elder of the Order wrote in the Maramma language an exposition of the text of the *Samyuttanikāya* and its commentary. Another Elder of the Order also wrote in the same language an exposition of the text of the *Dīghanikāya* and its commentary.[27]

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[18] Vide *infra*.

[19] B. C. Law, *op. cit.*, 333-34.

[20] *Śās.*, 121-22.

[21] In the Tunna village.

[22] *Śās*, 126.

The seventeenth-century monks of Sagaing also played a leading role in the organisation of studies on the Abhidhamma and one of the theras, namely, Tilokaguru composed a commentary on the *Paṭṭhāna*, the most important book of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. A second Ariyālaṁkāra is also credited with the composition of versions of different Pāli texts, while Tejodipa, a disciple of Tilokaguru, wrote a commentary on the Paritta. In this century, several books of the Abhidhamma were interpreted and paraphrased in Burmese. During the reign of Mahārājadhipati, who ascended the throne in 1733, Thera Nāṇavara, appointed Acariya by the king, composed a gloss on the *Abhidhammatthasamgaha* and a few other glosses, of which his commentary on Buddhaghoṣa's *Atthasālinī* is noteworthy.

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[23] *Śās.*, 134 and B. C. Law. *op. cit.*, 397 ff.

[24] *Śās.*, 134 and Bode, *op. cit.*, 73.

[25] The *Vimānavatthu* describes the enjoyment of celestial palaces by the gods as a result of their meritorious deeds on earth, but it is a dull production of monkish poetry. Its only claim to recognition is its metrical form.

[26] *Śās.*, 137.

[27] *Ibid*, 149.

The *Jātakas* were also very popular in Burma and some of them were the earliest ones to be introduced there. Among the earliest writers was Ariyavaṁsa, who composed some Pāli works on the *Jātakas* and one such text called *Jātakavisodhana* stands on his name.[28] A Mon author named Ratathara or Raṭṭhassāra wrote two poetical versions of the *Bhuridattajātaka*[29] in 1484 and 1494, while Aggathamadai produced adaptation of the *Nemijātaka* in 1535, 1538 and 1542. I have already referred to these works in a different context. Now, Ratathara is also credited with the composition of metrical versions of the *Hatthipāla-jātaka*[30] and *Samvara-jātaka*,[31] besides various other beautiful poems.[32] The venerable Elder Śīlavaṁsa also composed a beautiful poetical version of the *Sumedhakathā*, known as the Buddhālaṁkāra.[33] This relates the story of the Brahmin Sumedha occuring in the *Jātaka*.[34] A beautiful Pāli poem in 274 verses belonging to this epoch on the subject of controlling sensuality has been referred to in the *Gandhavamsa* under the name of *Kāyaviratigāthā*.

The study of the canonical literature in Burma was facilitated thorough grounding, as in the case of Vedic literature of India and Indo-China, by the study of grammar, rhetoric, prosody, lexicography, etc. Indeed, a large corpus of grammatical literature grew out of this study and most of them are related to Pāli grammar, but the study of Sanskrit was also pursued. One of the earliest works which has defied the ravages of time is the Kārikā, a metrical text written by Dhammasenāpati, a monk residing at the monastery of the Ānanda temple. Indeed, Pagan became the principal centre for Buddhistic studies, even as Thaton had been in the Pre-Aniruddha days. In 1154, the *Saddanīti*, a grammar on the Tripiṭaka was composed by the monk Aggavaṁsa, also known as Aggapaṇḍita the Third,[35] and it has been described as "the most comprehensive in existence." The work became so famous that some scholars of Śrī Laṅkā, deeply versed in grammar, came to the author's home town at Pagan to examine the book and observed, "In the subject of grammar there is no book like this in the island of Sīhala, even the detailed analysis as contained in this book we did not know." Time has not worn out its utility. Even in the 19th century, Pannasāmi wrote a Pāli commentary on this text at the request of "many of his hearers."[36]

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[28] *Ibid*, 104.
[29] *Jātaka*, no, 543.
[30] *Ibid*, no. 509.
[31] *Ibid*, no. 462.
[32] *Śās* , 105
[33] *Ibid*, 104.
[34] *Jātaka I*, 2 ff. and Bode, *op. cit.*, 43.

The work consists of aphorisms on Pāli grammar divided into 25 sections. To a Sanskritist, it would appear interesting that in the second part of the work, the *Dhātumālā* or "Garland of Roots", the author furnishes the Sanskrit equivalents of the Pāli forms, thus showing his mastery over both Sanskrit and Pāli grammar. I have earlier made a brief reference to the name of Chapada, whose works mark a further stage in the progress of monastic scholarship in Burma. A famous gramatical treatise written by him was the *Suttaniddesa* or *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa*, which explains the sūtra or aphorisms of Kaccāyana, an Indian grammarian, whose work is believed by some to have been introduced into Burma by Chapada himself.[37] It has been stated in the *Gandhavamsa* that he wrote this work at the request of his pupil Dhammacāri. The *Suttaniddesa* made Kaccāyana's work so useful that Saddhammasiri, the author of the grammatical treatise called *Saddatthabhedacintā*,[38] based his grammar partly on Kaccāyana's Pāli aphorisms and partly on Sanskrit authorities. In Thaton, the thera Mahayasa composed a *ṭīkā* on the *Kaccāyanasāra* some time after the 12th century. In subsequent times, a number of commentaries were written in

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35. *Śās*, 81.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Śās*., 74 ; *Gandhavamsa*, 64, 74 ; *Śāsanavamsadipa*, verses 1247-8,
38, *Śās*, 83.

this text, of which the most famous was the *Mahāṭikā* of thera Abhaya of Pagan, who is also credited with the authorship of the *Sambandhacintāṭīkā*, a commentary on the *Sambandhacintā* of Saṁgharakkhita. It is believed by some scholars that these two scholars, namely Saddhammasiri and Abhaya, flourished in the 14th century. Another grammatical work of some importance was the *Nyāsa*, also called the *Mukhamattadīpanī*, which is a commentary on the Kaccāyanayoga. Its author was Bimalabuddhi, who has been described in the *Śāsanavamsa*[39] as a thera from Pagan, but some other authorities consider him to be from Śrī Laṅkā. A gloss on the *Nyāsa* was composed by the same author, to whom is also attributed the authorship of the *Abhidhammatthasamgahaṭīkā*. Another commentator, who received the title of Rājjuggāhāmacca from king Narapatisithu (1173-1210), composed a gloss on the *Nyāsa* referred to above.[40] A Pagan-grammarian was the famous Dhammadassi who, while he was a Sāmaṇera (novice), composed the *Vācavācaka* or *Vaccavācaka*, which is still studied.[41]

Towards the middle of the 13th century flourished Kyozwa (var. Kyacvā, Kyocvā or Kya-swa) who was a great patron of literature.[42] His reign saw the composition of several grammatical works composed both by monks and laymen. The king himself set the tune by writing the *Saddabindu* and *Paramatthabindu*, which were both grammatical works.[43] Kyozwa's daughter also wrote a small text on Pāli grammar dealing mainly with cases ; the tract is known as *Vibhatyattha*.[44] The *Mukhamattasāra*, another text on grammar, was written, according to the evidence of the *Gandhavamsa*, by Sāgara or Guṇasāgara who, at the request of the Saṁgharāja i.e. Head of the Buddhist Church, wrote a gloss on his own work.

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[39] Bode, *op. cit.*, 21.

[40] *Śās*, 82.

[41] *Ibid*, 83.

[42] *Glass Palace Chronicle*, 155, 156.

[43] These are variously said to have been written by the preceptor of the king, namely Thera Nārada. According to the *Gandhavamsa* (JPTS, 1886, pp. 64, 73), it was written by Kyozwā.

[44] *Śās.*, 84.

Unfortunately, the Mongol incursions destroyed this centre of light and culture in 1277. The establishment of Shan authority at Panya (Pāli: Vijayapura) in 1312 by Kitti Sīhasūra again brought about revival of literary activity in Burma, principally in the domain of grammatical literature. It is noteworthy that during the reign of this king, Sirimaṅgala wrote commentaries explaining the grammatical base of the *Samantapāsādikā*, which was itself a commentary on the Vinaya text by the famous scholar Buddhaghoṣa. Another important work on Pāli grammar written at Panyā under the patronage of the Shan king Kitti Sīhasūra is the well-known *Saddasāratthajālinī* of Nāgita,[45] but more were to follow. Another grammatical treatise, called *Sadduvutti* was composed by Saddhammapāla, probably in the 14th century.

At Ava, in upper Burma, a member of the Chapada-sect, Ariyavaṁsa by name, composed in the second half of the 15th century, a grammatical work entitled *Gandhābharaṇa*.[46] Sometime later on, Vijitāvī brought out two grammatical works, one called the *Kaccāyanavaṇṇanā* or Commentary on the Sandhikappa (section dealing with the euphonic combination of letters) of Kaccāyana's grammar, and the other the *Vācakopadesa*,[47] which is still studied by Burmese scholars. The latter work handles the grammatical rules from a logical point of view. It has been noted that one of the MSS gives the date of the work as 1606.

At Pagan, in the 17th century, during the time of Jambudhaja, were composed some other grammatical and philological works, but the tempo of composing grammatical works in this century seems to have waned considerably in Burma in comparison with activity in this field during the 13th and 14th centuries.[48] This is perhaps understandable, because, the works composed in the previous centuries were of such outstanding character that there was hardly any incentive or capability of the new generation of scholars to excel the works of the earlier generations. In spite of this, activity in this domain did not cease. The monk Ukkamsamāla, for example, composed during the reign of Hsinbyushin in the third quarter of the 18th century two works on Indo-Burmese grammatica, one of them being the *Vaṇṇabodhana* and the other *Likhananaya.*[49] As the titles show, they are connected with the discipline of the Pāli language. The *Śāsanavamsa* describes him as an erudite scholar, who was versed not only in the texts and the commentaries, but also in "other books". Another author of the name of Jagarabhidhaja published the *Navaniyamadīpanī,* which contains 254 aphorisms on Pāli grammar, and another text called *Saddamedhanī,* an essay bearing on various terms of Pāli grammar.[50] Not less interesting among his grammatical compositions is the *Dhātvatthasamgaha,* an alphabatical digest of Pāli roots and their meanings in verse furnished with a Burmese translation.[51]

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[45] *Ibid*, 96.

[46] *Ibid*, 104.

[47] *Ibid*. 97 ; Bode, *op. cit.*, 46 ; B. C. Law, *op. cit.*, 636,

[48] Bode, *op. cit.*, 58.

Knowledge of language and literature cannot be fruitful without mastery over science of versification. It is therefore naturally expected that this branch of studies will also receive adequate attention from the Burmese scholars. This is indeed what has happened. A treatise on metrics called the *Kavisāra* stands on the name of the Elder Dhammabuddha who is said to have been a resident of Haṁsāvatī (Pegu).[52] Thera Saddhammanāṇa also wrote the *Chandosāratthavikāsinī,* which is a commentary on the *Vuttodaya,* a Pāli work on the metres.[53] Another important metrical work was the *Chapaccayadīpanī,* which was apparently composed by the same author. The proficiency of the Burmese scholars in Pāli grammar, rhetoric and prosody is also reflected in the composition of the *Rājindarājabhidheyyadīpanī*, which is also a remarkable production. Even as late as the 19th century, some works on vocabularies, grammar and rhetoric were composed and, of these, the most outstanding was the *Kāvyasāratthasamgaha* (1872) by Chakkindābhisiri. Another notable work was the *Kāvyasāratthasamgaha* (1872) by Chakkindābhisiri. Another notable work was the *Alamkaranissaya*, which is an edition of Saṁgharakkhita's *Subodhālamkāra*, published with a commentary.[54] The *Chandomañjari*, a Pāli treatise on prosody was also composed towards the end of the last century and it was followed by a nissaya in Burmese (1897).[55]

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[49] Coedes, *The making of South East Asia,* 162, 187.

[50] Bode, *op. cit* , 96

[51] *Ibid.* 97.

[52] *Śās..* 53.

[53] *Ibid,* 82 ; Bode, *op. cit.,* 26.

In the field of Pāli lexicography, the earliest known text is the *Abhidhanappadīpikā*. Kitti Sīhasūra wrote a commentary on the same. Another notable contribution to the subject was made by the Elder Saddhammakitti, a pupil of Ariyavaṃsa, who wrote the *Ekakkharakosa*, which is a small text on the Pāli lexicography, being a vocabulary of words of one letter. As sanskrit was cultivated particularly in Lower Burma for many centuries, the famous *Amarakoṣa* was used by some Sanskrit scholars of Burma.

In the field of Jurisprudence, the lead was taken by the scholars of Lower Burma. The *Śāsanavamsa* refers to a Talaing monk of the name of Sāriputta of Paṭippajeyya, near Dala, opposite Rangoon. He became famous later on under the name of Dhammavilāsa and is credited with the authorship of the oldest *Dhammasattha* known by name to later generations of scholars in Burma. It was composed in Pāli about 1174 when Narapatisithu was the ruler of Pagan. It stands at the top the of a series of Pāli and Buddhist texts on jurisprudence and Dr. Bode has quoted, with approval, the remarks of Forchhammer that it discloses "the practical effect of a religious system upon the social and political growth of Talaings and Burmans." Dr. Bode has pertinently posed a question[56] which cannot yet be adequately answered, namely, whether the Brāhmaṇic (caste and sacerdotal) element was eliminated from the text by later Buddhist law-givers or whether they, with their essentially Buddhist features, go back to the law of Manu as it existed in India prior to the ascendancy of Brāhmanism.

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[54] Bode, *op. cit.*, 95.

[55] *Ibid*, 97.

[56] *Op. cit.*, 33,

Now, whatever be the position in this regard, connexion of India with the origin of the legal system of Burma, is unmistakable. This is also reflected in Burmese tradition. Indeed, the legends say that king Maha Thamada appointed a cowherd named Manu as his first judge who gave law unto Burma.[57] Maung Maung has observed[58] that Manu has left his mark in Burma, both among the Mon and Burman as well as in Siam, Cambodia, Java and Bali and that it would be fascinating to study his work in these various countries as these "should throw much light upon the course of Indian influences in Further India." For reasons stated above, the Code of Manu was used more as a model for legal treatises than for its contents. Very often Manu was "the convenient and prestigious mouthpiece."

Be that as it may and whatever be the position, the *Dhammavilāsa Dhammathat* formed the matrix of later Pāli and Burmese law-codes, but Hindu elements from Talaing sources are noticed in varying degrees in the Pāli law-codes till the 18th century. The legends of Burma referred to above confirm that traditionally also the matrix of Burmese law-codes rest on the *Manusamhitā*. This intrusion of the Hindu elements also occurs in the legal texts of the 13th century. It may be recalled that Wagaru, also known as Wareru, who ruled in Martaban in 1280, took steps for the compilation of a Dhammasattha, which was named after him. The eighteen branches of law, which constitute important parts of the *Manusamhitā*, are also embodied in this text in a substantial way. Article 2 of the *Wagaru Dhammathat* says, "Listen, O great king, attentively to the eighteen branches of law contained in this Dhammathat." These branches refer to the contracting of debt ; the law relating to giving and taking (in marriage) ; the law governing sale and purchase ; the law regarding the slaves ; the law of inheritance ; the law of gambling ; the law of assault ; the law regarding stealing ; the law regarding the hiring of persons ; the laws on adultery ; the laws pertaining to the divisions of land ; laws governing the purchase of property ; the laws bearing on accusation ; the law of governing the depositing of property ; the law of mortgage ; the law of divorce ; the law relating to bipeds and four-footed animals.

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[57] Maha Thamada is apparently Mahā Sammata, one of the ancestors of Buddha. Vide *Mahāvamsa*, chap. II.

[58] Maung Maung, *Law and Custom in Burma and the Burmeee Family* (1963), 1 ff.

These eighteen titles constitute the foundation of the *Wagaru Dhammathat*. Although these are similar to the eighteen titles of law enacted in the *Manusamhitā* (VIII, 3 ff.) there are minor variations and the arrangement of topics is also somewhat original. This might be due to the fact that the *Wagaru Dhammathat* based its text upon a version of the *Manusamhitā* which was derived by the Talaings from some South Indian source.

It will be observed from the details furnished above that the basic approach to certain questions are fundamentally different. For instance, slavery was institutionalised in India, Java, Kambuja and Campā, in the ancient period of their history, but it was not so in that sense in Burma ; nevertheless, it has found a place in the legal system of Burma due to the influence of the *Manusamhitā*. Otherwise it was not very relevant to the conditions of life obtaining in Burma. Exactly opposite is the case in regard to divorce, as this was not recognised as a matter of principle, in the Hindu law until recently.

Now, this *Wagaru Dhammasattha* was written in Talaing and was carefully compared by Forchhammer with Sanskrit law-codes, particularly with those of Manu, Yājñavalkya and Nārada. The comparison revealed the fact that the Indian elements runs through the text, but its compiler noted the materials which constituted sharp points of difference between the Buddhist law, of which this may be treated as the first noteworthy document, and the Brāhmaṇic law, from which the Talaings borrowed the form and most of the provisions. It has thus been observed, for example, that sacraments (such as marriage), the efficacy of sacrifice, the possibility of expiation, etc., which are essentially parts of Brāhamaṇic system of law are repugnant to the Buddhist view of life and philosophy and were accordingly adjusted to meet the needs of a system of legislation to defend the social order without inflicting what must be, according to their theory, unjustified, useless, illogical penalties. Forchhammer has well said, "Morally no punishment can be inflicted, because in the Buddhists' belief every deed will with unerring certainty bring its own definite reward or punishment, which cannot be increased or diminished by the appreciation or condemnation of other beings."[59]

The stamp of adaptation revealed in the *Wagaru Dhammasattha* was merely the beginning, showing the way for replacement of Hindu legal elements, sustained by the Talaings so far, by inducting Buddhist elements therein. This adjustment is embodied in later codes, where the *Vinaya* and the *Suttapiṭakas* constitute the authority and the *Jātakas* furnish precedents and examples.[60]

The *Wagaru Dhammasattha* was translated into Pāli by a Talaing jurist of the name of Buddhaghoṣa in the 16th century and it came to be known as the *Manusāra*.[61] The trend was continued in the 17th century, when another law-code called the *Manu-Yin* was compiled in verse. It incorporates the basic materials of the *Wagaru Dhammasattha*, but takes note of ancient Burmese customary law which is purely Buddhistic and rests primarily on the *Jātaka* stories.[62] Towards the middle of the same century, a version of the *Dhammavilāsa Dhammasatthn*, discussed earlier, was drawn up under the name *Manu Dhammasattha* by a second Dhammavilāsa.[63]

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[59] Quoted by Bode, *op. cit.*, 86.

[60] The same phenomenon also occurred in Thailand. Vide *infra*.

[61] Bode, *op. cit.*, 86.

[62] The *Vidhura* and the *Mahosadha Jātakas* provide examples dear to the heart of the Buddhist law-givers.

[63] Bode, *op. cit.*, 87.

Manu's prestige as a law-giver did not suffer in succeeding centuries also, because, under Alaungpayā's command several other law-books were compiled, such as the *Manu-Yin* of 1756, the *Manu-Kyay* of 1758-60 and a third work called the *Darajjavitāraṇī.*[64] Although the *Manu-Kyay* exists only in the Burmese version, it may be brought within the orbit of our discussion, because it is also largely grounded on canonical Pāli texts, the *Jātaka*s (the Mahosadha and the Vidhura as well as extracts from the *Suttapiṭaka*), the *Milindapanha*, the *Samantapāsādikā*, the Kaṅkhāvitaraṅī (commentary on the Pātimokkha), the *Visuddhimagga* and the *Sāratthadīpanīṭīkā* (commentary on the *Vinaya* by Sāriputtara, written during the reign of Narapatisithu). Now, regarding the qualification of the judges, the *Manu-Kyay* says[65] that persons who have competence in the *Piṭakas* and the *Vedas* should be made judges. From the Buddhist point of view, the law-codes of the time of Alaungpayā mark considerable advance upon the *Dhammavilāsa Dhammathat* and the *Wagaru Dhammasattha.*

During the reign of Hsin-hpyu-shin, some law-books were composed between 1766 and 1774 with the assistance of the Brāhmaṇas from Benares and Burmese scholars. Works of this time include the *Manusāra-shwe-myin*, the *Manuvaṇṇanā* and the *Vinicchayapakāsanī*. Dr. Bode has drawn our attention to the fact[66] that there is "significant" difference between the Burmese and Pāli versions of the *Manuvaṇṇanā*, as the former indulges in frequent allusions to the grammars and other works translated by orders of the king from Sanskrit texts bearing on astrology, palmistry, medicine, etc. In this way, the laws defined in the *Manusamhitā* have, from the medieval period, been adjusted to the needs of the Buddhist community of Burma. Besides the *Manusamhitā*, later texts like the *Atrisamhitā*, the *Dāyabhāgatattva*, etc., had also gained currency in Burma. Some of the later texts refer to the great jurist Raghunandana.

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64. *Ibid,*
65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid,* f. n. 2.

If one now takes a broad view of the Burmese law, as it has evolved during the last few centuries of Indo-Burmese contact, it will appear that the names of several forms of adoption can be traced to Hindu laws, but the Burmese law has departed far from its prototype. The main differenee between the two systems is due to their different approach to the questions concerning punishment, the equality of the sexes, and other things which crop up from a Buddhist perspective. The Dhammathats or treatises of rules which are in consonance with custom and usage are cited or recalled extensively, even as the Buddhist *Jātaka* stories are, among others, to deal with manners and morals of the society. The six classes of judges or *Ṣaḍvivāk.*, as noted in the Hindu *Śāstras*, are known, but the Dhammathats are otherwise not confined to the province of pure law.[67] Dr. Bode has appropriately summed up the position thus: "In the legal texts, we notice the use of the Pāli language: (1) to preserve a Hindu tradition derived from the Talaings, (2) to consecrate Burmese customary law which could, we may suppose, be codified equally well in the Burmese idiom. The classic literary language, naturally chosen in such cases as the attribute of awe and majesty befitting the written code is here also the reminder of the debt that Burmese custom and law owe to Buddhism".[68]

The majestic position accorded to Pāli language and literature in Burma should not blind our eyes to the fact that Burmese scholarship has been catholic enough to bring within its scope the study of Sanskrit language and literature. The Brāhmaṇas attached to the royal courts as counsellors, and soothsayers had exerted influence on their royal patrons, and thus preserve and promote the earlier Sanskrit culture of the Talaings and others. Some of these writings have come down to us in Nāgarī and proto-Bengali scripts.

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[67] Maung Maung, *op. cit.*, 11.

[68] Bode, *op. cit.*, 89.

II

According to tradition preserved in the *Śāsanavaṃsa*,[1] there were, during the time of Aniruddha, king of Pagan, many scholars who were well versed in the *Vedas*, particularly the *Atharvaveda*, called Athabbana-veda in the texts. Dr. Bode has observed.[2] "It is clear from the list of works given in the libraries of Burmese monasteries and from various allusions in Pāli literature that Brāhmaṇic works were studied in the Vihāras and we know that some were translated into Burmese, but this branch of learning was considered inferior."

In the Kalyani inscription dating from A. D. 1442 commemorating the gifts made by the governor of Taungdwin and his wife, on the contemporary Buddhist Order, we come across the names of many Pāli, Burmese and some Sanskrit works, numbering 295. The names of Pāli works may be studied in the Appendix to Dr. Bode's work referred to earlier. As regards the Sanskrit texts, whose number appears to be no less than 68 there are 33 original texts, 27 *ṭīkas* and 8 *nissayas* i. e., Burmese commentaries. An important text is *Rattamālā* (no. 194), perhaps *Ratnamālā* believed to be the famous dictionary called *Abhidhānaratnamālā* of Halāyudha, who was a high official as well as a famous author during the reign of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal (c. 1179-1207).[3] No. 202 on the list is *Kāmandakī*, apparently *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* ; next Sanskrit-sounding name is Taṇḍi, perhaps Caṇḍī or Daṇḍī (?), while no. 210 in the list is Caṅkadāsa, evidently Caṅgadāsa, author of the *Caṅgakārikā*, aphorisms on grammar of the *Kātantra*-school. Text no. 217 is Sūlācāraka, probably an abridged version of the *Carakasaṃhitā*, while no. 221 is the *Kāśikavṛtti* of Jayāditya and Vāmana on Pāṇini, while no. 283 is the *Barittaratnākara* (*Vṛttaratnākara* on metres by Kedārabhaṭṭa ?). The names of Vedic texts are conspicuous by their absence, but this might be due to the fact that the donor of the books did not possess these texts. If we classify these 68 Skt. texts referred to above, it will appear that these include 13 grammatical works, 6 texts on logic, 3 Buddhist tantric works, rhetoric texts 7, prosody 2, astronomy 2, astrology 6, medical texts 21, lexicon 2, etc.

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[1] p. 20.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 50.

[3] R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal* I, 357-8 and f. n. 2. and 3, with literature cited therein.

But the study of the Vedic texts was continued in later centuries as well. The *Śāsanavamsa* throws some light on the study of these sacred texts and the Vedasatthas. It has been stated of Shin Arahan that when he was resident of the town of Sudhamma, he was a novice under the Elder Śīlabuddhi. The *Śāsanavamsa* then proceeds to state about him, "And that Elder even before the time of his ordination was trained in the four Vedas. But when he took his ordination and learnt the three pitakas together with the commentary and went to the other shore, everywhere he became famous."[4]

From what has been stated above, it will appear that both Shin Arahan and his preceptor were versed in the Vedic lore and that the study of the *Vedas* might have been a necessary part of Buddhist discipline, at least as early as the middle of the 11th century, if not earlier. It has also been stated of the Elder Saddhammasiri, who resided near the Khaṇitthipāda-mountain close to the city of Arimaddana (Pagan) that he "turned into the Maramma language a Vedic text (Vedasattham) called the *Brihajā*."[5]

Vedic studies seem also to have continued in the Ramannadeśa, even after it was ravaged during the invasion of king Aniruddha of Pagan. The *Śāsanavaṃsa*, while discussing the state of the Buddhist religion in the city of Ratanapura in the Maramma Circle, tells us that Mahādhammarāja, the king of Ratanapura, built some monasteries and dedicated two of them to the monks Bāḥ-maṁ-akya and Acāra-akya, who were "learned in the Vedic texts, but deficient in the studies of the Canon and in conduct, and came from the Ramanna country. The ancients do not count them in the succession of Elders."[6] Other "knowers of Vedic texts" of this period from the Maramma country have also been referred to in the same text.[7]

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[4] *Śas.*, 68.

[5] *Ibid*, 83.

The particulars furnished above can not be checked from any other independent source, but since the southern tracts dominated by the Talaings had a large Hindu population, the study of the *Vedas* by certain sections of the priestly sector seems to be quite in order. In any case, the position seems to have improved considerably later on, because, in a later portion of the *Śāsanavamsa* we come accross people hailing from both the Ramannadeśa and Maramma country "who were well versed in the Canon and learned in the Vedic texts."[8] As the Canon has been counterpoised against the Vedic texts, the latter obviously refer to the four *Vedas* particularly, I suppose, the *Atharvaveda*. It is however not impossible that, by the *Vedas*, the Burmese scholars of the 17th century understood, at least sometimes, the Brāhmaṇic texts on astrology, medicine, and sciences in general, including Sūryasiddhānta (astronomy), Laghugraha (astrology), drabyaguṇa (chemistry or property of things), besides tantraśāstras or texts on magic and Kāmaśāstras (manuals of love and sex),[9] but the Kāmaśāstras could hardly become fit subjects of study by the Buddhist monks. Professional Brāhmaṇical priests expert in these branches of Hindu learning, particularly in the *Atharvaveda*, were known to have been attached to Burmese royal courts. Bode has also observed,[10] "......there are works reckoned as Vedasatthas, in which the monks found food for study and '*Veaa*'-subjects which they themselves delighted to handle, either in Pāli or vernacular. For a king's ācāriya must be able to discourse on ethics and policy, pronounce moral maxims and give advice. The

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[6] *Ibid*,, 110.

[7] *Ibid*., 117.

[8] *Ibid* , 112-13.

[9] Bode, *op*, *cit*., 51.

[10] *Ibid*.

Rājanīti, lokanīti and dhammanīti represent this sort of literature modelled on Sanskrit original."

In addition to works of sacred nature referred to above, instructive fables of the Sanskrit *Hitopadeśa* also became popular in Burma, but gems of Sanskrit poesy, with erotic strain in many places, were not and could not become popular with the puritanic monks of the Buddhist Church of Burma. Sanskrit grammar, allied to Pāli in various respects, was widely cultivated. It may be recalled that the Pāli grammatical treatise called *Saddatthabhedacintā*, written by Saddhammasiri, was partly based upon Kaccāyana's Pāli aphorisms and partly on Sanskrit authorities.[11] I have already referred to the name of Saddhammanana as author of some metrical texts. The writer was not only a Pālist, but also a competent Sanskrit scholar, as he translated the Sanskrit grammar *Kātantra* (Kalāpa) into Pāli. This is as was to be expected, as there existed some connexion between the *Kātantra* of Sarvavarman and the system of Kaccāyana.[12]

Kings have also, directly or indirectly, promoted the studies on Sanskrit grammar on certain occasions. During the long reign of Hsin-hpyu-shin in the 18th century, several Sanskrit texts were translated into Burmese and an important work of this category was Vopadeva's *Mugdhabodha* which was written in the 13th century.[13] A windfall for Burmese Sanskrit literature occurred when king Bodopayā, (1781-1815) taking advantage of the Arakan rebellion, brought a large number of Sanskrit texts from that place and got some of them translated.[14]

But his more solid work refers to his invitation of

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[11] *Śās.*, 83.

[12] Regarding the connexion between the system of Kātantra and that of Kaccayana, vide Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd edn. 243.

[13] The *Kātantra* and the *Mugdhabodha* were also widely studied in ancient Bengal (vide R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal* I, 314) and it is not unlikely that these texts of grammar spread to Burma from this region.

[14] *Op. cit.*, 98.

Sanskrit scholars from Vārāṇasī. According to the preamble of a Pāli-letter written in 1802 by the Buddhist monk Nānābhivaṁsa to two of his Simhalese compatriots, edited by Minayeff in the JPTS for 1885, it is learnt that this king succeeded in enlisting the services of some Sanskrit scholars for his court. These scholars brought with them a massive number of Sanskrit MSS. This collectanea constituted the basis for the famous *Bibliography* of U Yan printed in 1906 under the title *Piṭakatthemaing* which contains in all 2047 titles, of which more than 600 are written in Sanskrit or are of Sanskrit origin. Although many of these are late works and do not, generally speaking, come within the purview of our work, they have a huge range and comprise texts on Vedāṅga, Vyākaraṇa, Kalāpa, Tarka, Purāṇa, Cikitsā, Jyotiṣa Dharmaśāstra and abhidhana. Unless there was a rich tradition of studies in Sanskrit language and literature in their diverse manifestations, it would have been impossible to gather such a profuse harvest.

No Vedic text is however found in this list, but of the important texts on Vedāṅga or Jyotisa, the compiler has noted 40, of which the *Suryasiddhānta, the Siddhāntasiromani, Bhṛgusamhitā*, the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, the *Līlāvatī* deserve special mention. Under the head of Vyākarana, we find listed 35 titles, including the famous *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, the *Kāśikāvṛtti, Cāndra-vyākaraṇa, Aindravyākaraṇa, Mugdhabodha, Sārasvata-vyākaraṇa*, various commentaries on grammars and others. There were also 25 heads under the Kalāpa-class. Texts on Logic and Philosophy were not less than 20 in number and some of them belonged to the Navya-Nyāya school of Mithila and Navadvipa, of which the most important one is the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeś, on which there are various *dīpanīs*. Not less interesting is the class of works called *Purāṇkyan*, i.e. the Purāṇaśāstras, with 33 titles of the Mahāpurāṇa-class. Medical treatises of India, Burma, and Ceylon also figure prominently in the list, but of these the outstanding ones refer to those of Suśruta, Caraka, Sāraṅgadhara, Vāgbhaṭa, Cakradatta, Bhāvaprakāśa, etc., and of the 15 titles on pharmacopoeia, all are of Indian origin. Texts on alchemy and erotics have also found place on the list.

A study of the foregoing pages would indicate the wide interest of Burmese scholars not only in the vast range of canonical literature, but also grammar, prosody, lexicography, metre, law moral precepts, birth stories, etc. Study of Sanskrit language and Litertaure was not neglected either, as various Burmese scholars sometimes in collaboration with Brahmin scholars from India, undertook the task of study and translation of various Sanskrit texts. Such studies included not only the Vedic lore, but also grammar, lexicography, astrology, astronomy, medicine, law, magic, etc. Dr. Bode has observed in this connexion, "While the Pāli literature represents vastly more than any other the influence of India on Further India, we should not pass over the fact that a store of Sanskrit learning by no means negligible has existed from time immemorial in that outlying country. This store was always held strictly in Brāhmaṇic keeping. The kings of Burma were generally not only the nominal but real and energetic patrons of learning, and the Brāhmaṇas, at all times counsellers and soothsayers in the royal palaces had an indirect influence on culture." Forchhammer, writing about a century back in a paper which has become classic,[15] has observed that "Burma deserves to be drawn within the circle of those countries where researches of Sankrit records ought to be made." The observation holds valid even today.

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[15] *Report on Literary Work*, 1879-90, P. 13.

CHAPTER XII

THE INDIAN LITERATURE OF THAILAND AND LAOS

The T'ai language in China and Vietnam is monosyllabic, but in Thailand and Laos this character has been lost due to the intrusion of polysyllabic languages. The T'ai languages of Indo-China betray notable affinities with the Indonesian languages, but historical accidents have placed these languages in separate areas. It would however appear strange to many that the written Siamese language has too many accents, but no punctuation, with the result that characters flow uninterruptedly till the idea changes. The language has no grammatical inflexions, but each of the monosyllables has five tones each to indicate the shades of meaning. There is however considerable controversy as to whether the tonal system was inherent in T'ai, borrowed from any other language or was due to phonetic changes.[1]

The language has three classes of words meant respectively for the masses, the princes and the monks. Sanskrit and Pâli words offer the last two categories of persons common media for expression. There are indeed small dialectical variations between Siamese and Lao, but rapid means of communication are obliterating these differences. The Siamese vocabulary is not however rich. It has a vocabulary of about 40,000 words, of which about 1000 recur nearly ninety-five per cent of the time.[2] The vocabulary is however being constantly replenished from rich storehouse of Sanskrit and Pāli.

The earliest written record of Thailand is a set of archaic Mon inscriptions incised on an octagonal pillar

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1. Vide in this connexion A. G. Haudricourt in *Bull. Soc. Ling XLIX* (1953), 122 and *JA* (1954), 69.
2. Thompson, *Thailand: the New Siam*, 762.
3. Lajonquiere, *Inventaire, ii*, 328; Coedes, *Recueil* II, 17-19 and Halliday in *BEFEO XXX*, 82-85.

found from the neighbourhood of San Sung and others engraved on the gallery surrounding the great stūpa of Braḥ Paṭhama cetiya.[3] The inscriptions contain some Pāli and Sanskrit words. According to K. A. Nilakanta Sastri,[4] the scripts of these inscriptions are South Indian alphabets from the 6th or 7th century A.D. One of the Mon dynasties ruling over Haripuñjaya (mod. Lamphun) at the beginning of the 13th century.[5] Some inscriptions written in mixed Mon and Pāli bear the impact of Buddhism in this area. It is not therefore surprising that the Mon-language inscriptions dated between 1215 and 1219 are found to be interspersed with passages written in the Pāli language.

The oldest written T'ai script was 'invented' in 1283, apparently with the assistance of the scholarly Saṁgharāja of Ligor and used for the first time in king Rāma Khamhaeng's inscription of 1292. The inscription clearly states,[6] "Hitherto these characters of Thai writing did not exist in 1205 (i.e. A.D. 1283), the year of the goat. King Rāma Khamhaeng devoted all his energies and all his heart to inventing these characters of Thai writting and these characters exist because the king invented them." The scripts constituted an advance upon the proto-Siamese alphabets which were adapted from the cursive Khmer script of the 13th century.[7] Its ultimate source was, of course, India, but these alphabets have undergone considerable modifications since these were introduced into Indo-China.

It is not known for certain who were responsible for the composition of the Mon inscriptions, but if examples from earlier Kambuja and later Thailand be any guide, it would appear that the royalty had a great share in this. In fact, when the scene opens, it is found that all early compositions, mainly poetry, were produced by the royalty, the elite and the retainer-poets, whom the above-mentioned

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4. *South Indian Influences in the Far East* (949), 77.
5. Coedes *Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental, in BEFEO XXV.*
6. Coedes, *Recueil I*, 37.
7. *JSS XXXI* (1928). 87.

classes supported. This court-centred orientation continued down the centuries and promoted the growth of its literature. From at least the 14th century,[8] when Ayutthaya was established as the capital of the nascent Thai kingdom, active royal participation in the composition of literary works became the norm.

The introduction of Pāli Buddhism in the latter part of the 12th century to Thailand accelerated the growth of the Pāli language and literature in Thailand. King Lu T'ai, the last sovereign of Sukhodaya, in an inscription dated 1357,[9] considered the year 1218 as a watershed in the history of Thailand and adjudged it to be the beginning of the decline of the aristocracy marked by the dominance of Brāhmaṇas and all that they stand for. The rise of Pāli Buddhism, under royal patronage, naturally paved the way for a greater role to be played by this brand of religion, but in this transitional period, the contribution of the Brāhmaṇas in the literary field still continued to be important. Indeed, Coedes has observed,[10] "The first poetic texts of Ayutthaya, such as the curse upon the flood-waters, the prayers addressed to the gods and the spirits by the clerk of the court before a trial by ordeal and the oldest passages of the laws for the palace guards...all of them non-Buddhist texts, composed or inspired by Brāhmaṇas who inherited the traditions of Angkor...were probably very much influenced by Khmer models."

More positive steps for the stabilisation of the legal system of Thailand were however undertaken by king Rāmādhipati, the founder of Ayutthaya. He drew up eight texts bearing on evidence, crimes against government, acceptance of pleas, abduction, crimes against the people, theft, marriage and miscellaneous matters, promulgated between 1350 and 1359. They owe something to the older texts. The laws were further revised in the 17th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. This was so, because the Hindu and Buddhist jurists look at punishment from different standpoints, as explained earlier in connexion with evolution of Burmese law. A thorough study of the ancient Burmese and Thai laws from the view-point of Indian jurisprudence, particularly the Bhārgavīya and the Nāradīya systems of Law, is still a desideratum.

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[8] Mosel, *Trends and structure in contemporary Thai Poetry*, 4.

[9] Coedes, *op. cit.* 77, inscr. no. 11.

[10] *The Making of South-East Asia,* 147.

The thirteenth century has been rendered memorable for another reason also. The first available specimen of verses dates from this period. It refers to ritualistic poems said to have been composed by the court Brāhmaṇas brought from Kambuja after Thai military victory over it. Further side-light on the Indian subjects studied in Thailand in the middle of the 14th century is provided by certain other notices in the records. Documents indicate that the monastery of Arannika was specially constructed for the Buddhist patriarch from Nakhon Sri Dhammarat (Ligor) "who had mastered the *Tripiṭaka*." The temple of Śrī Chum[11], probably constructed in the middle of the 14th century, moreover depicts series of scenes illustrating some *Jātaka*-stories, indicating thereby that the stories depicted therein, if not others, were popular in Thailand during that time.[12]

Royal scholars continued to make their contribution to the literary heritage of Thailand. Loe Thai, son of the famous Rāma Khamhaeng, was a pious ruler. His son Lu Thai was a noted royal scholar who composed *Traibhumikathā* ("The Story of the Three Worlds"), a voluminous work on Buddhist cosmology, in 1345. This text has come down to us in a little altered Siamese translation.[13] The extent of the knowledge of this prince has been described in one of the inscriptions thus : "His majesty has thoroughly studied the sacred scriptures. He has studied the *Vinaya* and the *Abhidhamma* according to the system of the traditional masters, beginning with the Brāhmaṇas and the ascetics. The king knows the *Veda*, the treatises and traditions, the law and the maxims, beginning with the treatises on astronomy......His knowledge is unequalled......He knows the short years and the intercalary months, the days, lunar mansions. Using his authority, he has reformed the calendar."[14]

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[11] Le May *A concise history of Buddhist Art in Siam*, fig. 139.

[12] *Ibid* , 122.

[13] Coedes, *The Tribhūmikathā, a Buddhist cosmology and Treatise on Ethics, East and West* (1957), 349.

Buddhist learning in Thailand was not however widespread, but the revival of interest in Pāli language and literature in the 15th century was promoted by the Great Council which held its congregation at Chieng Mai in 1475 to revise the Pāli scriptures. The tempo was caught up and, in 1482, a band of scholars of the royal family also participated in the composition of the poem *Mahājāti*, which handles the theme of the Vessantara *Jātaka*. In addition to the promotion of learning by enlightened Thai monarchs, a devoted band of monks from Śrī Laṅkā put in their weight in the dissemination of knowledge in Pāli scriptures. They had also important centres in the Lao country. The sect received fresh impetus from Śrī Laṅkā in the 15th century and spread its influence under the Sihalagana.

This royal and ecclesiastical interest brought in its harvest in the following period and some notable works, such as the *Maṅgaladīpanī* and the *Dhammapadatthakathā* which form the bed-rock of Thai and Kambujan Buddhism, were composed. The latter text was translated into modern Siamese during the reign of king Rāma III (1824-51). Coedes thinks[15] that it was probably during the reign of Tilokarāja, king of Chieng Mai (1442-87), that literature began to be written in Thailand in Pāli.[16] His chief antagonist was Paramatrailokanātha, the king of Ayutthaya, who promoted, like his rival, cultural activities. It was during the reign of the former that the poem *Lilit Yuen P'ay* was composed; it is replete with Sanskrit words.

Two important Chronicles from the view-point of history were also composed in the fifteenth and sixteenth century.

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[14] Coedes, *Recueil I*, 98-99.

[15] *BEFEO XV*, no. 3, 39.

[16] The main works have however been attributed to the reign of his successor.

One is the *Cāmadevīvamsa*, written by monk, Bodhirasmi, either at Chieng Mai or Lamp'un at the beginning of the 15th century[17] and the other is *Jinakālamāli*. The author of the latter work was Rattanapanna, of the Rattanavana Mahāvihāra monastery of Chieng Mai, who completed his work in 1516.[18] There were also Siamese writers on Buddhism at Chieng Mai during the 16th century.

The enlightened attitude of Thai monarchs was also maintained during the reign of king P'ra Muong Keo' successor of Tilokarāja, who ruled between 1495 and 1525, but thereafter ensues a lull in Thai literary activity which was not relieved till we come to the middle of the 17th century.

It was naturally to be expected that the Buddhist background of Siamese life would have prompted the translation of the *Tripiṭaka* texts, as in Burma, but there is hardly any translation of the same in Thai, excepting that of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, whose necessity was felt because of the demands of monastic life. It was not until the reign of Rāma I (1782-1809) that a synod was convoked to collate canonical writings. Sundry works have however appeared now and then. The life of Buddha with its legends has found a place in the Pathomma Somphotiyan, but the corpus of *Jātaka*-stories were never fully presented before the Thais, until this was undertaken by Chulalongkorn in 1904. Some of the best gems of the Buddhist literature were compiled by Phra Ruang.

A brilliant period of Thai literature was ushered in the latter part of the Ayutthayan period. During the reign of king Narayana (1657-88), the king gathered round him a a cluster of eminent poets and their favourite pastime was "extemporising clever verse exchanges", as was in vogue in Bengal in the past and continues even now under the title *kavi-gān*. The practice was not confined to the literati alone. Thompson has observed[19] that "groups of rural rhymesters will sing extemporised songs well into the early hours of the morning." Poetry was thus intensively cultivated in Thailand and competent observers have stated that the oldest *chand* poems, which closely follow their Indian proto-types without much regard to metre go back to the Ayutthayan period.[20]

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[17] Coedes, *Documents sur l'histoire...*, 158 ; also Notton, *Annales du Siam* (1926-32), II, 34-35.

[18] Coedes, *op. cit.*, 80.

King Narayana referred to above was himself a notable poet and is said to have composed four poetical works. One refers to the versification of the middle part of the Samuddhaghosa, one of the *Fifty* (apocryphal) *Jātaka*-stories, whose composition was taken on hand by Maharajaguru and completed by prince Paramanujita Jinorasa (1790-1853) in the beginning of the 19th century. The apocryphal *Fifty Jātaka*-stories referred to above seem to have been originally composed at Chieng Mai. The remaining part of the *Samuddhaghosa* was completed by the same prince. Of the three other texts with an ethical base, written by king Narayana, one contains discourses by Vālin to his younger brother Sugrīva, the other, of king Daśaratha to his son Rāma, both from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the last work is the *Rājasvasti*. The translation of the *Gavi*, another text of the *Fifty Jātaka stories*, has been attributed to Maharajaguru. During the same reign, Khun Deva kavi (T'ep Kavi) compiled lullabies for elephants and these are found to be full of Sanskrit and Khmer words.

The eighteenth century Thai literature included a number of translation works from Indian texts or adaptations therefrom. The most important work of this category is doubtless the *Conversations of Nang Tantrai*,[21] which reminds one of the Old-Javanese version of the *Tantri Kāmandaka* and its Indian counter-parts discussed under the section of Indo-Javanese literature. Thai literature of this period could boast of fourteen plays, of which the themes were borrowed from the *Fifty Jātaka stories* referred to earlier. Mahadhammaraja (1733-1758), better known by his posthumous name Paramakosa, inaugurated a brilliant period of Siamese history and his eldest son, who had become a monk in 1735, wrote some poems with Buddhist motivation. The monk Mahanaga also wrote a poem on the footsteps of Buddha.

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[19] *Op. cit.*, 763.

[20] *Ibid.*, 763-64.

[21] Lorgeon, *Les Entretiens de Nang-Tantrai*, 1924.

The traditition of *rat chaniphon* ("royal composition") continued undisturbed down the centuries, up to 1932, when Thailand changed from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy.[22] Some of the kings excelled in this field. In the Bangkok period, which ushered in the Chakri dynasty, with Rāma I as king in 1782, two of the most famous royal poets were Rama II (1809-1824) and Rāma VI (1910-25). The reign of Rāma II is considered as one of the best periods in Siamese literary history. The king himself had a flair for writing poetical works and he gathered round him a group of talented poets, of whom the most outstanding was Sunt'on Ph'u (1786-1855). The literary output of this time refers principally to poems of love, a sort of travel-literature known by the name of *nirat* and narrative songs known as *Seph'a.* The most successful piece of literary work of the last category was the story of Khun Ch'ang and Khun P'en, which was the joint effort of several poets, but the work could not be completed till the reign of Rāma III (1824-51).[23] Very few of these works can be directly connected with Indian literature, but they indicate the climate under which literature of Indian genre flourished.

The first known Siamese version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, called the Rāma-*kirti* (Ramakien), is incomplete and dates between 1770 and 1780. It was composed by king P'raya Chakri. The first complete version of the epic is to be dated in the reign of his successor, Rāma I.[24] During the reign of Rāma II, a new recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed, but it handled the episodes from the departure of Hanumān for Śrī Laṅkā to the return of Sītā to Ayodhyā. For long years the *Ramakien* has served as an indispensable quarry for Siamese poetry and drama. The play called *Aniruddha (Anarut)*, composed in the beginning of the 19th century, was however affiliated to the cycle of Kṛṣṇa-legends.

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[22] Mosel, *op. cit.*, 3.

[23] For the details vide Coedes, *The Making of South-East Asia*, 167.

[24] Nicolas, Le Rāmāyaṇa siamois, analyse, *Extreme Asie* (1928), no. 19, p. 297; no. 21, p. 409; no. 23, p. 565; no. 25, p. 21.

A very important section of the dramatic literature of Thailand, as of Laos and other Indianized states of South-East Asia, owes its ultimate origin to India, but not necessarily to the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. Prince Dhani Nivat has observed[25] that this Rāma-saga, in the form of the *Daśaratha Jātaka* "might have come over to this side of the Bay of Bengal at about the same time as primitive Buddhism as early as the third century of the Christian era. Medieval Indian versions such as the Tamil and the Bengali based upon the classical *Rāmāyaṇa* came later to Java......These and the primitive folk-tale combined to produce what we have now in Siam......The only Siamese version based upon the *Rāmāyaṇa* is that of His late Majesty king Rāma VI adapted from its English translation."

The Siamese shadow-plays also present, among others, the *dramatis personae* from Indian epic literature. Before the commencement of the show, the puppet-master offers the usual invocation to deities of the Hindu pantheon and also to the seer Bharata, recalling thereby the techniques of the prologue of the Sanskrit classical drama. It is difficult to assign any particular date for the origin of the Thai dramatic literature. Epigraphic evidence indicates the existence of musical performance going back to the time of Rāma Khamhaeng, but reference to dramatic art does not occur before the time of king Boroma Trailokanāth in the 15th century. In the Palatine Law of this king reference has been made to a ceremony called anointment of Indra *(Indrābhiṣeka)*, which describes a sort of pegeant of Churning of the Milk Sea to obtain ambrosia. Prince Dhani Nivata considers it to be "one of the earliest instances of anything approaching a dramatic display in which men take the parts of celestial beings—gods, demons and characters out of the story of *Rāmāyaṇa*......From the latter part of the 17th century, there are definite mentions of the shadow-play. Its repertoire was not limited, as now, to the story of Rāma." It is however remarkable that within a century, during the reign of king Boromakos (1732-58) dramatic art saw its palmy days. Lakon and Khon i.e., dance-drama and masked play made their definite debut. The shadow-play or *Nang*, as it is called in Thailand, is always based upon the *Rāma*-sketch, coached in the Chabang-metre and is known as the Kampak, which is recitative.

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[25] *Selected articles*, 1929-1953 (The Siam Society, 50th anniversary, commemorative publication) vol. II, 177-78.

Thailand has also a literature on jurisprudence, but it suffered awfully on account of the Burmese sack of Ayutthaya by fire and sword in 1767. A text, almost contemporary (1794), informs us[25a] that this ravages destroyed about ninety percent of the legal texts existing before the invasion. The present Corpus of Laws was compiled by a Royal Commission appointed under orders of king Rāma I. The General Preamble *(Pān baṇek)*, which precedes all the MSS. of the 1805 edition, clearly defines that the object of the revision was only to restore the legislation of the Ayutthayan period. In this work of compilation, the Brāhmaṇas of the Supreme Court (Lūk Khun Śāla *Hlvaṅ)*, also played an important part, as four of them were appointed on the Commission. Their labour produced 123 volumes constituting what is known as the *Chahpap hlvaṅ*. The law-chapters of the Corpus have been distributed over 27 heads, of which no. 1 is the *Braḥ Dharmaśāstra* (1 vol.) : *the Sacred Code of Manu ;* no. 2 is *Indabhāa* (1 vol.) : *The words of Indra ;* no. 13 is Lākṣaṇa Dāṣa or the Law of slavery ; no. 21 is now the Law of Ordeals ; no. 22 is the Palatine Law, while no, 23 is the *Kaṭhmāy Braḥ Samgha*

[25a] New (unclassified laws), no. 28 dated 1794. Vide Bradley, *Corpus of Ancient Siamese Laws II*, 462. For the following details vide also H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, 165 ff.

(2 vols.), besides others dealing with inheritance, debt, robbery, military and provincial hierarchies, constitution etc.

The primacy in the list has been given to the *Dharmaśāstra*, which connected this text, as well as others on the list, with the legal system of India. An examination of the Thai *Dharmaśāstra* however reveals the fact that it only narrates the miraculous discovery of this sacred text and offers Pāli rubrics for the discussion of principles on which justice is to be administered.

I have stated earlier that the Pāli *Dhammasattha*, composed by Dhammavilāsa in 1174, constituted the matrix of earliest law-codes of Burma. In the next century was composed the *Wāgaru Dhammathat* in the Talaing language under orders of Wagaru, the Thai ruler of the deltaic region of lower Burma and Martaban, who ruled between 1281 and 1313. The *Wagaru Dhammathat* was translated into Pāli in the 16th century and it came to be known as the *Manusāra*. It is very likely that the Pāli version of the *Wagaru Dhammathat* was introduced into Thailand sometime in the 16th century. The Mon-terms which have become a part of the Thai jurisprudence has to be explained by the circumstances that Wagaru originally ruled over the deltaic region of Burma which was mainly inhabited by the population of Mon extraction.

Unfortunately, the epigraphy of Thailand, unlike that of Kambuja, hardly throws any light on the evolution of the ancient laws of Thailand, but we may postulate in a general way that the inspiration of the law of Thailand and at least some of its provisions, as for instance those relating to the eighteen titles of law under the Code of Manu, the classification of the slaves into seven categories, the principle of Hindu jurisprudence that interest on loans should never exceed the capital, the definition of classes of persons inadmissible as witnesses, among others, came from India through the corridor of Burma, retaining some features there from, shedding some others and adding new ones wherever needed under the demands of the *Rājaśāstra*.

II

Let us now turn our attention to Laos. Laotian literature is however a dialectical branch of the Siamese literature. Some parts of it may be described as Tai folk-literature of the Mekong valley. Others include edifying religious themes, the most well-known of which are the apocryphal *Fifty Jātaka stories* and the Laotian version of the *Pañcatantra.*[26] The latter consists of four collections of stories, of which the majority are to be found in Sanskrit. Some of them contain Pāli verses. Popular poems of the romantic type like the *Kalaket*, *Saurivong*, *Usabarot*, etc., imitate the form of the *Jātakas*, inducting therein some amount of Buddhist tinge. Among other Laotian works, the *Maṅgala sutta* of Sirimaṅgala of Laos enjoyed international reputation. It was studied in Burma and has been referred to in the *Śāsanavamsa.*[27]

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[26] J. Brengues in *JA* (1908), 357.

[27] *Op. Cit*,, 57.

CHAPTER XIII

EARLY LITERATURE OF MALAYSIA

The pre-Islamic literature of Malaya and Sumatra has virtually disappeared. In Malaya however Sanskrit made an early debut, because, in a Chinese text bearing on the kingdom of Langkasuka, located near modern Patani, it has been clearly stated that, in the year 515, "the precious Sanskrit" was known in the kingdom.[1] Indeed, the early use of this language in the epigraphs of the see-captain Buddhagupta and official charters of the Śrīvijaya/Śailendra monarchs underlines its predominance in Malaya. The Sanskrit inscriptions discovered from the region of Trang, Kedah and Caiya in Indian script ranging from the 5th to the 8th century mark the first tangible phase of the impact of Sanskrit language and literature on Malaya. The art of writing on the epigraphs and the style of sculpture and architecture indicate, in a general way, the homeland of the immigrants, whose influx sustained the growth of Indo-Malayan cultural life, including its literature.

Strangely enough, the Malaya Peninsula has not yielded any record which we may designate Old or even proto-Malay. The oldest specimen of this language or something akin to it is represented in several inscriptions, four of which have been found in Sumatra (three near Palembang and one at Karang Brahi on the upper course of the Batang Hari), while a fifth one on the Bangka Island, the dates ranging between 682 and 686.[2] Excepting this evidence from early times no other Malay or proto-Malay text in Indian script is available between the 7th and the 14th century. In any case the Brāhmaṇas attached to the Indianized royal court of Sumatra had some share in the drafting of the charters referred to above. If we study the inscriptions of Kedukan Bukit, Talang Tuvo and Kota Kapur, it will appear that the words of Sanskrit origin in these records refer to time, ethics religion, property, etc., and terms conveying abstract ideas. It seems to me that the language could express simple ideas in direct style, but the language had possibly no equivalent for such Sanskrit terms as *itvevamādi*, *punarapi*, *tāvat*, *kathamapi*, *tathāpi*, *tatkāla*. etc., as some of these terms occur more than once in these inscriptions. It is not impossible that these inscriptions were originally written in Sanskrit and then promulgated in a vernacular version for better understanding of the people, but the untranslatable terms in Sanskrit were kept as they are. The religious terms became popular without any doubt through the centres of Buddhist learning at Palembang. If K'ouen-louen be identified with the proto or Old Malay, the remarks made above about the latter would also be applicable to the former.[3] But we do not find any satisfactory answer to the question why the inscriptions Malaya, written in the Sanskrit language, were not written in Old or proto-Malay, as the capacity of the latter language to express itself in simple style was already proved by the inscriptions referred to above.

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[1] Groeneveldt, *Notes*, 10-11.

[2] Codes, Les inscriptions malaises de śrīvijaya in *BEFEO XXX*, 29-80; Ferrand in *JA* (1932), 271-376 and J. G. de Casparis in *Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th century A.D.*, 1-46 and 207-11. For further references, vide A. Teeuw and H. W. Emanuels, *A Critical Survey of Studies on Malaya and Bahasa Indonesia*, 9-11.

With the data available at present, it is difficult to say what was the exact shape and content of the Indo-Malay literature between the 7th and the 14th century. Scholars generally believe that the pre-Muslim Malay literature consisted of oral folk-tales, beast-fables, proverbs, riddles, sayings, *pantuns*, etc. Naturally it is extremely difficult to assign any specific date to this type of literary work, but the internal evidence furnished by these diverse materials as well as the nature and content of the earliest available texts lead one to believe that this may indeed be so. Some side-light of the state of this pre-Muslim literature is shed by a set of Indo-Malay inscriptions of known date, but its chief interest lies in the field of linguistics.

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[3] Chavannes in *BEFEO III* (1903), 438 ff. and Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et Textes geographiques...* 242 ff.

Of the two inscriptions in view, one is recorded on the tomb of a princess at Pasai dating from 1380. It is the oldest known Malay poem in Indian metres,[4] but this Malay is full of sanskrit and Arabic words. The Trengganu stone inscription, which probably dates from 1326/27 or may be from 1386/87,[5] is written in Malaya-Arabic characters, and closely resembles classical Malay, both in language and spelling. Regarding this inscription, Winstedt has observed[6] that the standard of the Arabic spelling of Malay words in this inscription is "an indication that the missionaries of Islam had not only altered the vocabulary of the Malay language even then, but had written a good deal as well. And although the Trengganu inscription is full of Sanskrit words, Sanskrit then must have occupied the place Arabic was to usurp on lapidary memorials and its abundant use on a stele is no evidence of its excessive use in contemporary Malay literature." The inscription of Pengkalan, Kempas,[7] dates from 1467, but it is too short ; its chief importance perhaps lies in the fact that it is written twice in Indian script and twice in Arabic script. This double script indicated the transitional nature of the time, because, without the familiar Indian script, the message in Arabic script would not be properly understood.

The survey made above, on admittedly meagre linguistic and literary data, lays bare the matrix of an Indo-Malayan society, which had received considerable amount of Indian culture and had developed a vernacular literature of their own, though its theme, vocabulary, rhetoric and prosody had to be borrowed, in many cases, from Sanskrit and, to a slight extent, from Tamil as well. Winstedt has stated,[8] "Any one who surveys the field of Malay literature will be srtuck by the amazing abundance of foreign flora and the rarity of the indigenous growth. Malay folklore, even, is borrowed, most of it, from the vast storehouse of Indian legend, an early crop garnered in the Hindu period, a later in the Islamic. When literature flowered on the written page, Malay became the cultural language of Indian traders and pundits at every port in the Malay Archipelago. The most prolific 'Malay'-authors were Indians or Malayan of mixed blood."

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[4] Vide Stutterheim, a Malay Sha'ir in Old Sumatran Character of 1380 A. D., in *Acta Orientalia* 14, pp. 268-74 and Marrison, A Malay poem in Old-Sumatran characters, in *JMBRAS*, 24, pp. 162-65.

[5] Vide *JMBRAS II* (1924), 252, 258.

[6] History of Classical Malay Literature (in *JMBRAS*, 31, pt. 3, no. 183, 1958), 37.

[7] B. Kloss in *JFMSM* 9, pp. 185-89 ; Stein Callenfels in *Ibid.* 12, pp. 107-10 ; Wilkinson in *JMBRAS* 9, pp. 134-35.

Winstedt has classified the pre-Muslim folk-literature of Malaya under the following heads : (a) Mythology, riddles, proverbs and clock stories ; (b) beast-fables ; (c) Farcical tales and (d) folk-romances. Of such tales, the clock series of questions are paralleled in orthodox Bengali folk-tales, of which specimens may be seen in the Folk-tales of Bengal by Lal Behari De and the compilation of Bengali stories by Daksina Ranjan Mitra Majumdar.[8a] The stories end with : Āmār kathāṭi furolo, naṭe gāchṭi murolo, kenre naṭe muroli, gorute kena khāy, kenre goru khās, rākhāl kena dudh doy nā, kenre rākhāl dudh dosh nā, pipre kena kāmrāy, kenre pipre kāmrās, kuṭus, kuṭus, kuṭus. ("My story ends. The top of the *naṭe*-creeper is torn off; Oh *naṭe*-creeper, why is your top torn off ? why does the cow eat (me) ? Oh cow, why do you eat ? why does the cow-boy not milk me ? Oh cow-boy why don't you milk ? why does the ant bite me ? Oh ant, why do you bite, kuṭus, kuṭus kuṭus ?") There are other versions of this formula, but they all run on similar lines. A Malay specimen is offered below [9] :

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[8] Winstedt, *op. cit.*, preface.

[8a] *Thākur Mār Jhuli*, 274.

[9] *Ibid.*, 10-11.

Egret, egret ! why are you thin ?
Of course, I'm thin ! The fish won't rise.
Fish, Fish ! why don't you rise ?
How can I rise with such long grass on the banks ?
Grass, Grass ! why are you so long ?
I'm long because cow won't eat me,
Cow, cow ! Eat the grass.
How can I eat, when my belly aches ?
... ...
Snake, snake ! why do you eat poor frog ?
Because he is my proper food.

It will be observed that the frame-work of the two sets of formula from Bengal and Malaya are identical. In this chapter, we shall see that similar identity also marks some other folk-tales, which were widely known in Malaya and some other countries of South-East Asia.

There are also folk-tales of a different genre, which tell us about magic horses, magic castles, fatal or life-giving magic flower, setting princesses free from the might or spell of inimical princes or demons who are subjugated by princes assisted by supernatural power. These create an artificial world linked up with the folk-world of India. Jonker has however observed that it is difficult to reduce the structure of such stories to one arche-type, fix up the grade of their borrowing and determine the mutual relationship of particular stories.[10] Although our conception regarding this matter has been further clarified, particularly by Winstedt and C. Hooykaas,[11] the basic assumptions Jonker still hold good, and in stead of one arche-type, we have probably to speak of more than one arche-type in respect of bunches of Malay stories.

In any case, one such story is very popular in both India[12] and Indonesia.[13] It is the story of the mouse-

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10. *Encyclo. Ned. Ind.*, 591 ff., s.v. Literatuur Maleische.
11. *Over Maleische Literatuur.*
12. H. B. Sarkar, *Indian Influences*, 381 ff. This is particularly popular in Bengal and occurs in *Thākur Mār Jhuli*, 217 ff.
13. See in this connexion, C. Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, 33-39, particularly p. 37.

deer who is usually the hero of nearly all Malay beast-fables. On one occasion he was caught by crocodile, but escapes by stating that what he had caught in his jaw was not a leg but the withered branch of a tree. On another occasion, in this fight of wits between the mouse-deer and the crocodile, the former induces all the crocodiles to keep afloat for counting their number and then crosses the river by a swift dash accross the bridge of their backs. This is a well-known story in both Indian and Malay folk-tales. It is not unlikely that many of such folk-tales of primitive type were transmitted under the banner of Buddhism to different regions of South and South-East Asia.

Another story of the same category refers to a Malay tale about the mouse-deer's defeat in a race, along the shore, with king snail, who instructed his subjects to pop up ahead of the racing mouse-deer and since the latter could not distinguish between the king and his subjeets, the king snail won the race. The story also occurs in the *Pañcatantra*. Regarding the Remus's story of the Tar Baby, Winstedt has stated that it is "perhaps the most remarkable example of the insidious spread of Buddhistic tales."[14] It may be stated that in the Malay version, the mouse-deer is caught fast in a Tar Baby and pretends to be dead, but when he is cast aside as dead he flees away swiftly. The germ of this story is to be found in the *Jātaka*, from which it probably got into the *Hitopadeśa*[15] and, with it, it travelled along with others to many countries.[16] How mouse-deer cheated a tiger has also its parallel not only among the Malays, the Javans, the Sundanese and the Dayaks of Borneo/Kalimantan, but also among the Cāms, the Annamites and the Cambodians.

There is another bunch of stories connected with the mouse-deer. It is stated in such stories how a mouse-deer made the tiger flee away by crying out, "What! You have brought only one tiger for my meal, Ape, in stead

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14. *Op. cit.*, 12.
15. *Hitopadeśa* 1/3 and H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 379-80.
16. Cf. C. Hooykaas, *op. cit* , 36.

of two!" It has been observed that in a Perak version[17] the two frightened animals, the ape and the tiger, had their tails tied together, but one of their tails tore off, as the frightened animals raced back.[18] Winstedt has pointed out that the story also occurs in the Sanskrit *Śukasaptati* or Tales of a Parrot, in the *Totā Kāhinī* in Siṁhalese, Kāśmirī, Chinese and Tibetan folk-lore, among the Mois and Cāms of Indo-China, etc., some containing others omitting the episode of the broken tail. The story was so popular that it was reflected in the art of Candi Mendut and Candi Panataran.[19] There is also a story which tells us how the mouse-deer, attacked by a Sambar-fawn, jumped into a deep pit to save himself. He then decoyed other animals by pointing at the floating clouds and shouting that the sky is falling. When the foolish animals jumped into the pit, he goes out of the same by using the backs of these animals as springboard. Winstedt thinks[20] that stories of this type are ultimately derived from the *Jātakas* or the "Wide Eastern Ocean of Story." To the same source has been attributed the story of the mouse-deer and the rich man. It is stated that the richman had sumptuously fed some orphans by the smell of his cooking and demanded price for the same. In a grim humour, the mouse-deer also made the orphans pay back by the tinkling sound of over hundred coins made behind a curtain.[21] The story has travelled to Tibet, Thailand and Japan.

Many such mouse-deer stories were compiled several centuries back in the *Hikayat Pelandok Jinaka*, which is believed by Winstedt to have an Indian matrix. This collection has two versions.[22] Both the versions open their first tale with the story of the Mouse-deer, which

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17. Winstedt, *op. cit.*, 13.
18. H. B. Sarkar, *op cit.*, 371-72.
19. Regarding the evolution of the story through various stages, vide Winstedt, *op. cit.*, 14- 7.
20. *Ibid.*, 14.
21. *Ibid.*, 15.
22. Details in *Ibid* , 16-17.

brings about peace between the goats and the tigers by presenting the goats, with their mouths red with the slaver of wild berries, as if they have just finished their meal by killing tigers.[23] The longer version has three supplementary stories, at least one of which is paralleled by the *Kaka Jātaka.* It tells how the mouse-deer challenged the beasts to drink a river dry. The latter drank while the tide was rising and he when the flood was ebbing. The occurrence of numerous verses, the reference to serigala (jackal), Indrakila hill, Mahabiru i.e., Mahāmeru, the Churning of the Ocean in the shorter version indicate Indian influences.

Regarding Farcical tales, Winstedt has observed, "In the Daddy Long Legs Cycle, there is nothing indigenous. Nearly every episode may be traced to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*". The story of the make-show divination about the whereabouts of hidden buffaloes,[24] whose parallels occur among the Achehnese and the Bataks of Sumatra, the Javanese and the Sundanese of Java, the Torajas of Celebes, etc., has been traced to the Indian cycle of stories enshrined in the *Jātakas*, the *Hitopadeśā*, the *Pañcatantra* and the *Kathā*-literature. Similarly, the thieves who had stolen seven chests[25] were discovered by some lucky divination-tricks of Daddy Long Legs. The story also occurs in Malay, Batak, Macassar and Rotinese versions and tallies with the version of the *Kathāsaritsāgara.* The Story of a Rājā holding a grass-hopper in hand and challenging the Daddy Long Legs to divine about its identity correctly or die is also in line with its counterpart in the *Jātaka* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara.*[26]

The exploits of Daddy Long Legs are matched by those of Si Lunchai in another cycle of stories, but many of these have been, like the ones discussed earlier, traced

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23. *Ibid.*, 13 and cf. H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit* , 372.
24. Winstedt, *op. cit.*. 20.
25. *Ibid.*, 21, where variants have also been studied.
26. *Ibid.*

to Indian sources. One such story described how Si Lunchai, a pot-bellied seller of fire-wood, was put in a sack to be drowned for *lese-majeste*, but he escaped by inducing a Tamil merchant to take his place, alluring him that he is being drowned for refusing to marry the king's daughter. The story has parallels in Indian, Burmese and Simhalese folk-lore. Two other episodes of the same cycle of stories[27] have been traced to the three great Indian collections, the *Jātaka*, the *Pañcatantra* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. A day-dreamer's story, narrated in the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*[28] is matched by a Malay story narrated in the *Mat Janin*.[29]

The story of the wife's suitors who collected, unknown to one another, in different hours of the night at their lady-love's house on the supposed absence of the husband and were concealed at different places only to be outwitted by the husband later on is narrated in the tale of Upakosa in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the *Hitopadeśa* and the *Śukasaptati*, but certain new elements introduced in the Malay version find their parallel in the *Pañcatantra*. The story occurs in several Persian and Arabic works and Winstedt, who has discussed the story, thinks that it might have migrated to Malaya through a Muslim Indian source.[30] There are also some other stories which seem to revert to the *Jātakas* and other Indian sources.[31]

Many stories under the category of folk-romances have been influenced by the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in which the occurrence of a few Old-Javanese words indicates the time when these terms were current.[32] These might have been introduced into Malaya in the wake of shadowplays, some of which, particularly that at Patani, refers to the Pre-Majapahitan repertoire. The introduction of folk-elements relegate the story to the domain of folk-romances. The story tells us how Śiva, who is called Gaffer Mahasiku in the story, becomes a hermit to get rid of sins, but a sparrow lodged in his beard tells him to get a child to bear a part of his sins. Out of sandal wood is created a bride who bears him a daughter, but the Sun-god, the Moon-god and the monkey-king procreate through her three sons, who are turned into monkeys but later on they are restored to human form. The later portion of the story is dominated by such epic heroes as Rāma, Sītā, Rāvaṇa, the Golden deer, Jaṭāyu, Hanumān, the building of the causeway, the burning of Laṅkāpurī, Rāvaṇa's death, Sītā's recovery and Vibhīṣaṇa's rule in Laṅkāpurī. The story is a hodge-podge of floating Rāma-saga and heterogenous foreign elements, but except for one mention of Allah, the Patani folk-tale has no Islamic complexion.[33]

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[27] *Ibid.*, 22.
[28] H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 380.
[29] Winstedt, *op. cit.*, 22.
[30] *Ibid.*, 23.
[31] *Ibid*, 23 ff.
[32] *Ibid.*, 26.

Several other folk-romances of Malaya betray the usual features of Indian romances, of which one at least deserves attention. The hero of the story under reference is Malim Deman who, like some other tales from India, particularly Bengal[34] falls in love with a maiden whose tress of hair was found floating in a golden bowl. The heroine who is a nymph flies down to earth with her six sisters to bathe and the hero steals the flying raiment of the heroine and makes her his bride, but she returns to fairyland due to negligence of the hero, who again secures her from that fairyland: all these elements are ingredients in the Kathā-literature and the folk-literature of India.[35]

II

Besides the folk-tales and fables, described above, the earliest effort at versification in Malaya seems to be reflected, in the four foot verses called *pantuns*, but their relationship, if any, with Indian parallels has not yet been studied. Another class of short Malay poem is the Sja'ir, a name derived from Arabic, but where the term sja'ir denotes a different genre of poems. A large part of these Sja'ir poems centre round the Pañji romances, whose cradle-bed was East-Java and wherefrom the romances spread to Lombok, Borneo/Kalimantan, Celebes, Kambuja and Thailand. The Pañji romances mention kings of overseas countries, including various places of India, but these versified stories have, as such, very little to do with India.

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[33] *Ibid*, 26.

[34] The story of the Keśavatī Kanyā.

[35] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Tawney, Vol. I (1880), 218-19; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 338-43; D. C. Sen, *Folk Literature of Bengal*, 21.

More interesting is however Hang Tuah, the typical Javano-Malay hero, who never loses his grip over any situation whether this involves adventure or misadventure.[36] This Malay legendary romance has episodes bristling with merchants, ascetics and princes from India. Thus pass before the stage the merchant Permadivan from the land of the Kaliṅgas, the sage Prasantanala, the Raja Culan from Ceylon, etc. Hang Tuah even goes to the port of Negapatam in the kingdom of the Klings (Kaliṅga people). The king of the Klings sends Hang Tuah as an envoy to China and, afrer finishing his mission, the hero comes back to report to the Kaliṅga-king and then returns to Malacca. Other adventures of the hero have also been narrated in these stories.[37]

III

In the domain of Malay literature proper, the earliest specimens available to us reveal the last vestiges of the Indian culture in Malay which enriched its life for nearly 1500 years. The earliest Islamic elements scattered in different texts indicate that this was a period of transition when the older ideals were crashing and the new ones were not yet born. The literati were then groping in the dark for a new form. The century lying between 1350 and 1450 may be taken, in a general way, as the period when the Islamic matrix of the Malay literature was laid, but it could not shed off the traits of its earlier Hinduistic character.

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[36] For particulars vide C. Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, 79 with literature cited therein.

[37] *Ibid.*, *passim.*

A notable venture of the new period was the Malay version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* known as *Hikayat Seri Rāma*, which has two printed versions[38] and they contain elements from North, South and East of India. As Winstedt has stated,[39] "Into it had flowed flotsam and jetsam from the East, the West and the South-West of continental India, which in the Malay Archipelago were gathered into one to produce the proto-type of the two Malay texts," The same scholar has observed that certain details such as the relation of Rāma to Viṣṇu, the stress laid on the ascetic practices of Lakṣmaṇa and the incident of Rāvaṇa's picture being found on a fan of Sītā point to the arrival of the Indian elements after the 12th century when these details first occur in Indian redactions. The Bodleian copy of the Malay *Rāmāyaṇa* was received from the collection of Archbishop Laud in 1633. Evidence to narrow this gap between the 12th and the 17th century is at present meagre and it has been surmised,[40] on theoretical considerations, that known Malay translation of the Hindu epics could hardly have been attempted before the middle of the 15th century. We do not know for certain whether there was a lost proto-type for the *Hikayat Seri Rāma*, but internal evidence from the *Sejarah Melayu* indicates that in the middle of the 15th century, the story of Rāma had become so popular in Malacca that the half-brother of Hang Tuah was given the name of Lakṣmaṇa. It has been observed that in Kelantan the story of Rāma is still projected on the screen in a form "so old that the puppets do not wear the creese of the later shadow-play from Majapahit". At the opening of the shadow-play, the *ḍalang* or the puppet-master invokes not only the prophet Muhammad,

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38. (a) Ed. Roorda van Eysinga, 1843, (b) W. G. Shellabear, 1917.
39. *Op. cit.*, 35.
40. *Ibid.*, 37.

but also deities of the **Hindu** pantheon, such as Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Arjuna, Rāvaṇa, Rāma, Vibhiṣaṇa, Indrajit and the demi-gods of the *Rāmāyāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The end of the show is also marked by another ceremony of religious import, in which the *ḍalang* states that "the dust mounting into the air under the trampling of his audience is a sign that by virtue of his devotions, the gods are mounting the Śūrālaya, their Hindu Olympus, while at his prayer the gates open for Śiva to descend and drive away all powers of evil". In consonance with this spirit, Sheikh Nuru'd-din, who compiled the *Sirat al-Mustakim* in 1634, remarked that "the Malay version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* could be used for sanitary purposes, provided the name of Allah did not occur in it"[41]. Indian gods and goddesses, heroes and heroines thus gallop through the pages written in Arabic characters in a strange world under stranger circumstances. Without the least doubt, these shadow-plays have kept alive the memory of the epic heroes from an age that has long passed by.

A glimpse into the Classical Malay versions of the *Bhāratayuddha* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* is provided by some other works of the 15th century, such as the *Hikayat Iskandar Dhu'l-Karnain*, the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* and the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah*. It is generally believed that Malacca with its large foreign population and the domiciled Javans could very well have been, in the 15th century, the very place where the story of Seri Rāma was shaped into classical Malay.

The Pañji stories, which were widely diffused in Thailand, Cambodia and the Malayo-Indonesian world, hardly bear any Indian influence in the structure of the story, but individual episodes, the names of gods and goddesses, have sometimes left their imprint on the course of the story. In the *Hikayat Naya Kusuma*, Inu is called Pamade, a name of Arjuna in the *Bhāratayuddha*, while in the *Hikayat Pañji Sususpan Mesa Kalana*, the prince of Astina Jajar plays the role of abductor of Kama Rati. The dice game of Pañji in which he loses all is also reminiscent of the *Mahābhārata*-story.

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[41] Quoted by Winstedt, *op. cit*, 35.

Pañji is sometimes depicted as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Sometimes he and his beloved Candrakiraṇa are protrayed as emanations of Arjuna and Januvatī or as Śamva and Subhadrā, respectively. In the Chekel Veneng Pati, Batara Kala flings a ring down to earth, where it transforms itself into a golden deer. Candrakiraṇa is enamoured of this deer and wants to possess it, but none but Pañji can secure it. It is definitely reminiscent of the incident connected with the abduction of Sītā in the *Rāmāyaṇa.* The appearance of the bird Jentayu (Jaṭāyu) to save the heroine Candrakiraṇa, her sleeping with a fan depicting the portrait of an imaginary lover, Hanoman (Hanumān), etc., in the same story, recall particular episodes or names from the *Rāmāyaṇa.* The debut of princes from Kling (Kaliṅga), Magadha, Golconda, Tanjore, Gujarat, Bengal, etc.[42] introduces Indian element, but the matrix of the story is essentially Indonesian.

Besides the Pañji stories, the influence of the Indian epics is also writ large on several other *Hikayats.* Of the more important ones. we may refer to the names of the *Hikayat Kumala Bahrain, the Hikayat Indranata, Hikayat Sjah Mardan, the Hikayat Berma Sjahdan,* etc. There are also several romances bearing the Arab title of *Hikayat,* such as the *Hikayat Maharaja Puspa Wiraja, Hikayat Parang Puting, the Hikayat Langlang Buana,* etc., which breathe the air of Hindu India, accentuated by general absence of Islamic tinge.[43]

The impact of the *Muhābhārata* on classical Malay literature has however been effected, as far as present indications go, through the classical Javanese versions of the story, particularly the *Bhāratayuddha.*[44] The non-availability of pre-Muslim literature doubtless conditions this view, but there is hardly any doubt that the *wayangpurva* stories belonging to the *Mahābhārata*-cycle and the *Bhāratayuddha* made tremendous impact on the classical Malay literature. The theme of the latter work has been handled in the Malay text *Hikayat Perang Pandava Jaya*, while the *Bhomakāvya*, another classical text of Java,[45] has left its imprint on the *Hikayat Sang Boma* (or *Sang Sanba*).[46] The sprinklings of Old-Javanese words occurring in both the Malay texts referred to above link up the Malay recensions with the Old-Javanese versions of the story and not to the newer recensions available in Middle and New Javanese.[47]

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[42] Vide Rassers, *De Pandji-Roman* ; *Panji, the Culture Hero* ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 353-55.

[43] For brief discussion of these texts, vide Winstedt, *op. cit.*, 44-46.

[44] Vide *infra.*

How great has been the impact of Sanskrit on classical Malay literature can also be realised from a faint echo of a stereotyped passage in the *Hikayat Pandava Jaya*, which contains "a sensuous perfume that was soon quenched in the desert of Muslim puritanism". The relevant portion of the text, as translated, runs as follows : [48]

"The women hurried to see him.; some with their dishevelled and untied, others with disordered dress, others with face half powdered, some with quids of tobacco half prepared, some only with one eye painted. All the shopkeepers left their wares and salesman stopped in the midst of selling, exclaiming, 'we don't care if our goods are stolen, provided we see Kṛṣṇa.' Some had oil on only one side of their heads and powder only on one side of their bodies. Wives left husbands and children, while some held up their breasts and cried, 'we present these to Batara Kṛṣṇa.' All the women of Hastinapura hurried as if they were being chased by an enemy and some brought ivory doll, saying, 'There is your father Batara Kṛṣṇa.' They rushed to climb platforms and the platforms collapsed, and they fell sprawling, some with broken limbs, others with limbs sprained or bruised."

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[45] Vide *infra*.

[46] The story is told in Appendix *JMBRAS, 31, pt. 3* (1958), 184-87, after Raffles Museum no. 15. Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. The Old-Javanese text has been described in the following chapter.

[47] For newer recensions, vide A.B. Cohen Stuart, *Brata Joeda, Indisch-Javaansch heldendicht*, in *VBG* 27 & 28 (1860).

[48] Winstedt, *op. cit.*, 38.

Passages of similar tenor occur in the *Hikayat Raja Raja Pasai*, the *Sejarah Melayu, the Hikayat Hang Tuah* and many other Malay folkt-ales, while the Old-Javanese *Bhāratayuddha* has also similar passages to offer.[49]

Winstedt, before leaving what he calls "this enchanted garden" translated some more passages from the Malay tale of the Pāṇḍavas, of which one relates to the description of the beauty of Devī Satyavatī, the wife of Mahārāja Śalya, before the latter departs from her for ever. The passage runs as follows:

"She was as beautiful as the full Moon on a clear and cloudless night. The rain forgot to fall when it saw her tresses unbound. The deer forgot to run into the forest when they saw her side-long glances. The shoots of the *angsoka* (Skt. Aśoka) drooped at the sight of her hips when her skirt slipped down, and flowers dropped at the sight of her calves when she raised it."

I translate below a corresponding passage from the Old-Javanese *Bhāratayuddha* (28. 4ff): (Dutch translation is by Poerbatjaraka and C. Hooykaas).

"If you be a flower, dear, then I may be a drone, to seek after your charms. And if you be a young sprout, swayed by the wind, princess, then I shall be a *gaḍung*-vine with a view to clasp you around." Both these quotations are from the enchanted garden of the Malayo-Indonesin world, but the technique of the description is entirely Sanskritic, the ideas are no less so.

Before I turn to the Malay romances of the transitional period, I should like to review in brief the Tamil elements in the literature of Malaya. This is not, of course, much; still some of them have made a permanent niche for them in Malay literature. One of them relates to the Buddhist story of the *Manimekalai*, which perhaps entered quite early into the Sumatran folk-lore and migrated therefrom in an incomplete form to Malaya, where it has been retold in modern times. The story of the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* has also a Tamil Appendix tagged to the story which has been narrated in another section of this chapter. The cycle of stories called *Kalila dan Damina*, whose ultimate source is Sanskrit *Pañcatantra*, reached Malaya on different occasions from Southern India. Of the three recensions of this story, one was translated from some South Indian version of the story between 1504 and 1726, while another was translated by Munshi Abdullah from Tamil as late as 1835. In fact, Tamil folk-tales etc. began to enter into Malay in a big way after the conversion of this and other neighbouring islands in the 15th-16th century. The Muslims of Gujarat and southern India, especially the merchants who kept their accounts in Tamil, helped to introduce such romances and folk-tales from southern India greater than ever and the international port of Malacca was just the place for the diffusion of such stories to different places of South-East Asia.

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[49] Strophes 23-26. Vide discussion in H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 129.

Regarding Malay romances of the transitional period, Winstedt has observed, "The germ of every Malay romance is a folk-tale or cluster of folk-tales, nearly always Indian and manipulated by men wildly ignorant and intolerant of the unities of place and time."[50] Here will be found in numerous contexts not only Hindu fairies, spirits, sages, etc., but also Islamic ones, intermingling with Hindu gods and goddeses. The framework is Hindu folk-lore from Muslim India attuned to the demands of the new religion of Malay. In the *Hikayat Inderputera*,[51] which is believed by Winstedt to be, in many respects, a survival from the Hindu times, Inderputera is the son and Vikrama Puspa of Samantapura, who confers with Berma Sakti or Brahmā. The transformation of the heroines into lotus-flowers, to escape from the hands of the pursuers, who are transformed into swines, are common techniques in the *Hikayat Sang Boma* as well as in the Javanese stories of the same class where Devī Śrī is transformed into a plant to get rid of her pursuers. The appearance of Bagavan Narada, the reference to Mount Mahāmeru, Hindu magic arrows, Berma Sakti, etc., create a false Indian world in the Muslim setting of Malaya. The Indian motif, revealed in the search of an object to cure illness or barrenness, is found in medieval Malay romances. As in the Bengali folk-tales, the *Hikayat Raja Kerang* also describes the quest for a mango to ensure the birth of a child to a childless prince. In the *Hikayat Indera Bangsavan*, one comes across a hero who protects a princess from the depredations of Viṣṇu's Garuḍa.

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[50] Winstedt, *op. cit.*, 60.

[51] *ibid*, 63.

The most outstanding of the early Malay works is the *Sejara Melayu*,[52] dated not later than 1612. It was composed by a literary artist of wide culture, who was acquainted with Sanskrit, Tamil, Javanese, Persian words and Arabic texts. This led Winstedt[53] to think that such catholic outlook and culture could only thrive at Malacca, where Hindu and Muslim traders from India and settlers from China, Java and Sumatra jostled in the port.

We shall close our review of the early literature of Malaya with a survey of its jurisprudence. It may be recalled that in the pre-British days various legal systems were in force, such as (1) digests and tribal sayings, embodying matriarchal law of agricultural communities (2) native patriarchal law intermingling with vestiges of Hindu law overlaid with Muslim law and (3) Maritime law. Of these, the second category comes under our review.

Winstedt has observed[54] that the patriarchal law called *Adat Temenggong* in Malaya was evolved for the mixed population of ports and that, "it was introduced largely from India, along with commerce, by traders and adventurers, at first Hindu and later Muslim." Our knowledge of this composite patriarchal law is principally derived from the *Malacca Digest* of c. 1450, the *Pahang Digest* of 1596, with a later supplement, and from the *Kedah Digest* of 1650. According to Winstedt, the port rules enshrined therein were "adopted by countries like Acheh and Kedah from regulations of the kind India knew from the days of Candragupta and embodied in the Mughal *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*". The *Ninety-nine Laws of Perak* and the *Johor Digest* also owe their origin to the inspiration of the digests referred to above.[55]

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[52] Winstedt, *The Malay Annals or Sejarah Melayu* (in *JMBRAS*, 16,3); Brown, *Sejarah Melayu or "Malay Annals"*. A translation of Raffles MS 18......with commentary, in *JMBRAS* 25,2/3,276ff; C. Hooykaas, *Toelichting tot de Sadjarah Malajoe*, in his *Over Maleische Literatuur*, 201-270.

[53] *History of Classical Malay Literature*, 130-31.

[54] *The Malays, a Cultural History*, 91.

Of the legal digests, the first effective one to appear in Malaya was apparently the *Risalat Hukum Kanun* or the *Undang-undang Melaka*, which was compiled at Malacca under orders of Muzaffar Shah (1446-56). The preamble to this text prescribes separate dress for the royalty and the common folk and ordains that any one putting on royal yellow or lifting hands to pay homage to any one other than the king will suffer the death penalty, while unauthorised users of gold-mounted daggers will be deprived of the same and diaphanous garments will be torn from their backs. Death is also prescribed for ten offences, beginning with murder and a number of these offences are common with the Hindu law. In some respects, the *Malacca Digest* offers alternative lesser punishments. It is noticeable in both the Malacca and the Pahang Digests that they betray traces of the caste system, in as much as the punishment of the offender becomes greater with the ascending order of rank of the aggrieved person. On account of ambiguity or inconsistencies in the contemporary codes of law in the two States referred to above, the kings had the option to follow either the Hindu or the Muslim Law according to their pleasure. The *Pahang Supplement* provides for the ancient punishment of impaling for robbery, instead of crucifixion. The *Ninety-nine laws of Perak* are somewhat milder, as it compounds many offences with fines and even cases of homicide were let off with fine and delivery of buffalo or white goat or white camel for funeral feast. The imposition of fines had a natural attraction for the greedy princes and chiefs.

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[55] Regarding these digests, vide Winstedt, *Kedah Laws* in JSBRAS, 1928; Ph. van Ronkel, *Risalat Hækæm Kanæn (Undangundang Melaka)*, Leiden, 1919; *Hukum Kanun Pahang*, ed. J. Kempe and R. O. Winstedt in JMBRAS XXI (1948); *Ninety-nine Laws of Perak*, ed. J. Rigby, 1908; R. O. Winstedt, *Old Malay Legal Digest and Malay Customary Law*, in JRAS, 1945.

Some methods of torture and modes of execution were retained from the Hindu period. Scalping, tongue-cutting, etc., in medieval Malay came from the ancient period. Marriage by forcible abduction in the *Malacca Digest* and in the *Ninety-nine Laws of Perak* remind one of the Rākṣasa and Piśāca-type of marriages under the Hindu law.[56] The condonation or commutation of sexual offences or sins by fines, where Islam prescribes death by stone-throwing, seems also to be of Hindu origin, as the punishment provided therein is less severe and, in certain cases, discharged by fine.[57]

The penalty for treason under the Malayan laws was impaling. In regard to Malacca, we read in the Chinese text *Hai-yu* (1437) : "Their capital punishment is as follows : they take a piece of wood like a pole, of which one end is sharpened and the other planted in the ground about two feet deep ; the sharp point is introduced into the annus of the criminal who cries out for a moment, but immediately afterwards the point penetrates into his body and kills him."[58] This form of death, known by the Sanskrit name of Śūla, indicates the place of origin of this form of punishment. Winstedt has stated, "Both in constitutional and criminal law, Hindu influence is apparently more pronounced than in civil law."[59]

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56. *The Laws of Manu*, ed. Buhler (SBE, 25), III. 33.34 and lxxvii.
57. *ibid*, VIII, 364-78.
58. Groeneveldt, *Notes*, 125 ff.
59. Winstedt, *The Malays, A Cultural History*, 108.

The *Malay Digests* also have many provisions regarding slaves and the customary laws governing this class of people. It has been observed that, for offences in which the slaves are involved, the Malacca Digest follows the provisions of the Hindu Laws and these are "generally repeated or amplified in the *Pahang Digest*."[60] These are generally humane under Islamic and Hindu laws and do not prescribe death penalty, the paying of fines being the norm. The Malay laws were weighted in favour of the slave owners.

As regards property, the proprietorship right was created, as Winstedt has observed, "among the Malays, as among the Hindus and in Burma, Siam and Indo-China...either by felling forest or by planting land abandoned with no sign of occupation." The princes as in ancient India, demanded a part of the crop, tax and forced labour from the cultivators as royal dues, thus creating the fiction that the land belonged to the prince, but the collection of the tithe or one-tenth of the produce was difficult to collect. Winstedt has invited attention to another case where the Malay custom follows the Hindu law. He says,[61] "A man will charge his land to a creditor allowing him to enjoy the profits or part of the profits of the crop, such profits not to be placed against the money owed, but to be in lieu of interest, until the debt is repaid in full. Here is a clear case of evading the Muslim law against taking interest."

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[60] *ibid*, 113.

[1] ibid.

CHAPTER XIV

THE INDO-JAVANESE LITERATURE

In Indonesia, the reference to Senskrit works in the inscriptions is not so prolific as in Kambuja and Campā, but the physical existence of such works in Indonesia is surprisingly large. In Java, the Sanskrit inscriptions start to crop up with the inscriptions of king Pūrṇavarman (first half of the fifth century) and virtually end with the Śailendra rulers of Central Java (c. 778—c. 856), though isolated ślokas or stray verses occur as preamble to or ending of some inscriptions. The last Sanskrit inscription of Indonesia has been found, as stated earlier, from Sumatra and dates from 1378.

During the days when Sanskrit was the only literary vehicle in official cricles, the ground was gradually prepared for the creation of a sort of Indo-Javanese literature. The emergence of Central Java, with a Hindu cultural background, promoting art and architecture in the Dieng plateau and nursing the scholarly activities of Jñānabhadra and Hui-ning,[1] who used the native language for facility of their work, must have created the necessary climate for the development of the Old-Javanese language and literature. It seems that this language or one allied to it was called by the Chinese designation of Kouen-louen, but specimen of such language has not been found, unless we equate it with the archaic or proto Malay, as stated earlier.

The matrix of this language, whether we call it Kouen-louen, archaic or proto-Malay or any other, was essentially Austronesian. The Chinese report on the collaboration between Hui-ning and Jñānabhadra seems to indicate that Sanskrit Buddhist texts, with exegesis in Old-Javanese, might have evisted in the second half of the 7th century

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[1] Groeneveldt, *Notes*, 10-11.

A.D., but the existence of Sanskrit charters throughout the 8th century A.D. seems to indicate that the Old-Javanese appendage, in the form of link-exegesis, had not yet broken away from its Sanskrit moorings in that country. The charters in Old-Javanese prose start from A.D. 804, while those in poetry from A.D. 856. These being independent texts, we may assume that the period of experimentation in evolving the norm of Old-Javanese language and literature extended approximately from c. 650 to c. 850. The composition of Sanskrit-Oldjavanese dictionaries like the *Amaramālā*, simple grammatical texts like the *Svaravyañjana* etc., and Sanskrit-Oldjavanese exercises as exemplified in the *Caritra Rāmāyaṇa* to learn Sanskrit and similar types of works possibly took place during this period. The first fruits of this experimentation are to be seen in the independent creation of the charter of Sukabumi written in simple Old-Javanese prose dated by Damais in A.D. 804[2], while an Old-Javanese charter in Sanskrit metrics, being the earliest specimen of a *kakavin* deciphered by de Casparis is dated in A.D. 856, as referred to above. These are not, properly speaking literature, but they give us a foretaste of the same. Apart from the lexicographical text *Amaramālā*, the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* and the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya* are also ascribed by scholars usually to the Śailendra period mainly on linguistic grounds. Even admitting that these texts were composed prior to A.D. 856, there is, from A.D. 856 to A.D. 996, a dark age in the Old-Javanese literary history, as we can not definitely assign any text to this period with convincing proof, but many scholars believe that Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed between A.D. 919 and 929, but the proof is unsatisfactory, as it is mainly linguistic. Regarding the style of writing *kakavins*, Zoetmulder has recently stated (*Kalangwan*, p. 25) that between the date of the *Arjunavivāha* in the 11th century and the *Śivarātrikalpa* from the end of the 15th century "we shall be astonished at how few changes there are".

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[2] Damais in *BEFEO* (1952), p. 24; 1955, p. 189.

In this context and considering other factors, it is hardly possible to be dogmatic about the dates of *kakavins* mainly on linguistic grounds, and so one may keep an open mind regarding the date of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The Old-Javanese literature was called *Kavi* even in the 14th century, because, the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, an Old-Javanese chronicle has used the expression *vidagdeng āgama vruḥ kavī* i.e., he was versed in the āgamas and knew the *Kavi* language.[3] The term is now understood in the sense of traditional literary idiom in general, whether it is written in Old-Javanese or in a later form. The Old-Javanese poems in Sanskrit metres are called the *kakavins*, and the art of writing poetry was given the name of *kalangvan*, from *lango* meaning ecstasy. In order however, to understand these works one has to go through all the works of that genre to form a general impression regarding the nature of the whole. Besides, the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* also refers in 93 : 2 to another class of Sanskrit composition known as *vavacan*, but it is not possible to define its nature or form. The *Sutasoma*, a text dating from the 14th century, refers to another class of poetical composition, probably coached in Sanskrit metre, known as *lambangs*, but its exact nature can not be determined.[4] *Lambang* is known to Sanskrit literature. The *Rājataraṅgini*, for instance, has poetical divisions of the text into *lambangs*, but whether these can be brought in connexion with the Old-Javanese *lambangs* cannot be determined with certainty. Besides these idioms and styles, which pertain to the domain of poetical composition, Old-Javanese had also a rich prose literature, which we shall discuss later on.

Although the first phase of Old-Javanese passed in Central Java, it flowered into wonderful shape in the courts of the East Javanese kings. This was ushered in the Golden Age of Indo-Javanese literature, which extended from c. 1000 to 1500. Patronage was extended to this literature by the East-Javanese rulers, beginning with Dharmavaṁśa and Airlangga and continued by the royal houses of Kadiri, Singasari and Majapahit. After the downfall of the kingdom of Majapahit, which perished as a Hinduized state in the midst of fire and sword of incoming Islam,[5] Javanese literature bifurcated into two streams, the main one enriching the cultural and religious life of Bali, laying there the matrix of the Middle-Javanese literature, while the other continued in Java under stagnant conditions. The Muslim states of Demak and Pajang helped to create New Javanese literature in the mainland of Java, but it was a poor copy, in more intelligible language, of the products of the earlier literature of Kadiri and Majapahit. In fact, the loss of literary moorings, which were attuned to Hindu cultural and religious ideals, was attended, at the same time, with violent convulsions in the administrative and religious spheres. The impact of Islamic theology and literary ideals created an impossible position. The old was dying, but the new was not born. The writers therefore groped to find light for the new age and out of this endeavour was born New Javanese, sustained by the idiom of Kadiri-Pajang-Mataram.

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[3] 93 : 2.

[4] Can the Old-Javanese *lambangs* be ballads in Indian metres as opposed to *kidungs* in native metres ?

The preservation of much of this rich legacy of the ancient period was due to the fact that when the capital city of Majapahit was ravaged, the princes, elites, the priestly community and others who did not feel secure, left, with their treasure of lontar-works and their earthly possessions, as far as possible, for the neighbouring island of Bali, where a Hinduized society had been flourishing for many centuries. Here was born the Middle-Javanese, as an off-shoot of Old-Javanese, as distinct from Old-Balinese. A section of the Middle-Javanese literature written in Macapat, Tengahan and other native metres, came to be known as *kidungs*, but these were probably evolved earlier at the court of Kadiri, though there is some possibility that these might revert to still older times.[6]

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[5] Vide Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, 56.

[6] H. B. Sarkar, *Some Contributions*, 78-79. R. B. Slametmuljana in

When we study the Old-Javanese literature, we are astonished at the wide range of the subjects dealt with in it. As the internal growth of this literature has not yet been properly studied, we may conveniently discuss it under the following heads :

(1) The *Vedas* (as known under that name in Bali) and *Purāṇas* (2) the *Āgama* or *Dharmaśāstras, Nītīsāhitya* and *Śāsana* (3) *Kāṇḍa* or grammar, rhetoric, prosody, professional literature, *variga* or *jyotiṣa* and *usada* (4) *Itihāsa*, including prose parvans, *kakavin* or poems in Sanskrit metres, *kidungs* or native ballads or stories in native metres, *gaguritan* (5) *Babad* or historical works, including *pamancang* or generalogical stories (6) Tantri or fables, the source being Sanskrit or native stories, folk-tales, romances, etc.

I. THE VEDAS AND PAURĀṆIC LITERATURE

The Vedas were doubtless studied in Java, as in Campā and Kambuja, in the ancient period,[7] but what now passes for the *Vedas* are *mantras* and *stuti* meant for different deities of the Hindu and Buddhist religion, but no full *mantra* or *stuti*, as given in the texts, has been found in India.[8] For example, the *Caturveda*, though somewhat corrupt, reveals some semblance with the *Nārāyaṇātharvaśīrṣopaniṣad*, but what is known as *Atharvavedaśiras* has no similarity with the Upaniṣadic *Atharvavedaśiras*. What has been

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Poezie in Indonesia, 17 has drawn our attention to the fact that the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, usually believed to have been composed between c. 820 and 832 Saka often refers to *kidung* verse in many cantos (II/9 ; III/39 ; VI/128 ; VIII/167 ; XII/23 ; XII/127 ; XXIV/202), apparently meaning thereby that the *kidungs*, were in vogue in the beginning of the 10th century A.D. This may not appear surprising, as the term *mangkidung*, in the sense of ballad-singer or actor, first occurs in an inscription dated A.D. 821—Vide H. B. Sarkar, *Corpus*, no. IX and f. n. 44.

[7] H. B. Sarkar, *Some Contributions*, 84.

[8] H B Sarkar in *JIH* XLIV (1966). 65 -660

preserved in Bali are the *Ṛk*, *Yayus* and *Sāmavedaśiras* which are sung, not recited, on the first day of the bright half of the month and on *Pūrṇimā* i.e., full Moon nights. Other mantras include, among others, *Vedaparikramasāra-saṁhitākiraṇa*,[9] in which many subsidiary mantras accompanied by various *mudrās*, *prāṇāyāma*, *nyāsa*, *kumbhaka*, *pūraka*, *recaka*, etc. The *Buddhaveda*, which smacks of the Veda on account of its title, is the death-ritual of the Bauddha priest and not, as S. Levi thought, the daily ritual of the Bauddha priest.[10] In fact, there is no trace of any Vedic mantra to be found anywhere in Indonesia, except the famous Gāyatrī *mantra*, which we shall discuss later on.

The *mantras*, *stavas*, *stutis*, incantations, exorcism formulae etc., are however, numerous, but, as observed by Pigeaud in his *Literature of Java* I (p. 63) "the texts used by the priests of various denominations are not identical and for some religious ceremonies, e.g., cremation and purifications, special rites with special incantations are required." Rules on this matters are found in the treatises on ritual. "Many of these *mantras*, hymns or *stotras*, etc., have been dedicated to Sūrya, Śrī, Vāyu, Pṛthivī, Yama, Vāsuki, Ākāśa, Pitṛ, Rati, etc. The Buddhist *stutis* or hymns are also substantial in number and they include *Pañcadaśarasa-stuti*, *Śrī Yayurveda Buddhastuti*, *Vajrānalastuti*, etc. In recent years, C. Hooykaas has published, with his characteristic comprehensiveness some more texts in his *Āgama Tīrtha* (1264 and *Sūrya-sevana* (1966), and more recently in collaboration with T. Goudriaan, he has brought together about 300 Bauddha, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava-hymns. Some of these have been written in good Sanskrit, while others in what has been called "Archipelago"-Sanskrit. Of these hymns, the majority have now been anchored in proper "ritual environment'' with the help of ritualistic MSS. These *stutis* or *stavas* are devoted to numerous deities of the Śaiva, Bauddha and Vaiṣṇava pantheon, supernatural beings, even to ritualistic apparatus, etc. Many of these hymns are still recited by the priests of Bali "with the intention of invoking the help of supernatural forces in order to realise human objectives, such as good health, children, bounteous harvest, purification of sins, success in all enterprises, protection against evil powers, etc."[10a] In fact, the structure of the mantras or the hymns was designed to attain this objective.

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[9] Levi, *Sanskrit Texts from Bali*, 7 ff. ; Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, 110.

[10] Levi, *op. cit*, XXX and Hooykaas, *Sūryasevana, the way to God of a Balinese Śiva priest* (1966), p. 12.

In all these rituals, however, the purification of the body of the priest and preparation of holy water (*pabresihan*) always occupied place of primary importance and not unjustifiably Hooykaas called the milieu a holy-water religion, as the priest's body became the receptacle for the descent of the deity to receive the worship of the devotee and then depart.[10b] Among hosts of such *mantras*, the *Surya-sevana* or the worship of Śivāditya occupies an important position.[11] It has to be performed with the ceremonies of Talabedana, Karaśodhana, the chanting of prāṇāyāma in the pose of recaka, pūraka, kumbhaka, etc.[11a] The text of a part of this long mantra, particularly *astramantra*, also occurs in the *Garuḍapurāṇa*. The sacred rivers of India have been invoked in this *mantra*...a feature common to many other hymns of Bali as well...and then after the ghaṇṭāmantra is over, one hears the familiar Sanskrit verses of the Indian mantra beginning with : *om kṣamasva nām Mahādeva, sarvaprāṇa-hitaṅkara, nām moca sarvapāpebhyaḥ*, etc. It bears the impact of Tantric Buddhism in some sections. Other sections of this worship contain the *mṛtyuñjaya-mantra*, the *bhasmamantra* and the *yajnopavīta-mantra*, the last part of which contains the fragment of the famous *Gāyatrī-mantra* (*Ṛgveda* 3, 62, 10) namely its second pāda which reads: *bhargo devasya dhīmahi* and is uttered at the very close of the *Sūryasevana* ritual.[11b] The fuller text of the famous Vedic mantra however occurs in Bali and has been presented as no. 878 in *Stuti and Stava* by T. Goudriaan and C. Hooykaas. Prof. Gonda has drawn our attention to the fact that the *gāyatrīmantra* has also been independently quoted in the post-vedic and post-epic works of India like the *Saura* and the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, for instance. The section of the *gāyatrīmantra* quoted above is also part of the *Śivasūtramantra* beginning with *yajño-pavitam paramam pabitram*, which occurs in the Āraṇyaka Baudhāyana, Vaikhānasa and Pāraskara gṛhyasūtra, among others. There are also other relevant *mantras*, such as the *Narasimhamantra*, etc. In any case the comparison of the texts technical terms and ritual situations in both South India and Bali, has led Hooykaas to the view that the differences are considerable, though similarities are also not negligible.

[10a] Goudriaan and Hooykaas, *Stuti and Stava* (1971), pp. 607-08.

[10b] C. Hooykaas, *Sūryasevana*, pp. 10-11, 155 ; *Balinese Bauddha Brāhmaṇas* (1973), p. 19.

[11] Text in Goris, *Theologie*, 13 ff. and C. Hooykaas, *Sūryasevana*, pp. 44-129.

[11a] For ritualistic apparatus and pose of hands & fingers, vide *Sūryasevana*, pls. 9-21.

The theological background of these *mantras* or even segments of at least some of these *mantras* could no doubt be traced to India, but the full *mantra*, in the right sequence of the Balinese specimens, has not yet been traced to India. Religious faiths always sustains conservatism and the construction of the caṇḍis as well as divine images housed therein or portrayed in sculpture emphasise this religious conservatism. Consequently it does not appear very probable that the *mantras* of well-known deities were composed in Java and Bali, though this possibility can not be altogether ruled out in this regard for the minor deities. The *mantras* have changed very little since the days of the sūtras; so the deviations in the *mantras* of Bali, if there be any, would underline the need to make a deeper probe into these *mantras*.

Of the eighteen *purāṇas* of India, only the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* has been found, but it is not identical with the Javanese version. It has a prose and a poetical recension. According to Gonda, the prose recension may be referred to the 10th-11th century.[12] The work contains many Sanskrit words and their ratio to Old-Javanese would be, in many places, 4 : 9.[13] The subject-matter of this work has been borrowed, for the major part, directly from a Sanskrit recension, but in certain respects it sometimes better tallies with the *Vāyu*, *Matsya* or even the *Varāha-purāṇa*. The poetical recension of this text is called *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa kakavin* or the *Pṛthuvijaya*. It was composed by the poet Aṣṭaguṇa and is divided into 18 cantos. The date of composition is probably the 12th century.

[11b] C. Hooykaas, *Sūryaseavana*, p. 126.

Many stories written in the paurāṇic style of India and others, mainly of cosmogonical nature, have also been discovered in Bali. The *Tantu Panggelaran*, *Manik Maya*,[15] *Agastyaparva*,[16] *Tattva Savang Suvung*,[17] the *Ādipurāṇa*,[18] etc., belong to this genre.

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Of these texts, we shall first discuss the *Tantu Panggelaran*. which is a veritable repository of cosmogony, mythology and church history. Of these elements, the last one occupied a conspicuous part of the work. It is divided into seven chapters, but it has no central plot and is an uneasy conglomeration of various distorted Indian traditions, into which was partially webbed the texture of native traditions. Fragments of isolated episodes of this work can, in some cases be traced to India, but not the whole. A large part of this work describes *maṇḍalas* (magic circles), devagurus and many other religious orders. The bulk of the work, in its present form, seems to have been composed between the 14th and the 16th century.

The *Agastyaparva* is also another work of Paurāṇik nature and it reflects the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, *Nīti* literature and other tracts. Sanskrit ślokas, of different grades, are scattered throughout the book. The questions made by Dṛḍhasya and replied to by his father Bhagavan Agastya constituted the frame-work of the text, detailing how the gods, the Manus, various planets, sins, etc., were created, after the Great Deluge. It describes many episodes, partly or substantially, from the epic-paurāṇic literature of India, including the stories of Rāma-Sītā, Yayāti-Devayānī, Sunda-Upasunda, etc.

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[12] Gonda, *Het Oud-Javaansche Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* Biblioth. Jav., no. 5 ; *The Old-Javanese Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* in *Purāṇa* I (1960), 252-67.

[13] Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, 119.

[14] Text and Translation by Pigeaud, 1924 ; and English summary by H. B. Sarkar in *Indian Influences*, 142 ff.

[15] For a summary, vide H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 144 ff.

[16] Ed. Gonda, in *BKI 90* (1933), 329-419 and *BKI 92* (1935), 331-458.

[17] For summary, vide H. B. Sarkar *op. cit.*, 155.

[18] *Ibid.*, 15 ff. For older literature vide Juynboll, *Supplement II*, 172 ff. and Pigeaud, *Tantu*, 304 ff.

The *Tattva Savang Suvung* is also an Old-Javanese text of the Paurāṇic class, discussing cosmological and other matters. It discusses how Sang Hyang Tayu created Brahmā and Viṣṇu from his right and left eyes respectively and how wind, earth and fire were created. It states that Brahmā created the first man and Viṣṇu the first woman and thereafter Sun and Moon were created. More important is however the *Ādipurāṇa* which not only handles mythological themes, but also jurisprudence. It begins with two multilated *ślokas*, which propound the objects of the *Veda*, and offers some particulars regarding various deities. The main hero of the story is Vismanagara, king of Praṣṭanagara, who, considering the transitoriness of life, followed the counsel of Bhaṭāra Parameśvara and went, with his wife, to Paṇḍita Vkas ing Tunggal ring Jagat to know the mystery of his own origin. As the Paṇḍita could not satisfy him, he went to sage Mūrtthitasana, who discoursed to him regarding cosmogony and other matters, some of which are found in the epic-paurāṇic cycle of stories in India.

The *Manik Maya* is a later work than the *Tantu-Panggelaran*. Winter thinks that it was composed at Kartasura by Karta Mosada, probably after a Kavi-Jitapsara. Prof. Veth would ascribe the text, as we have it, to 1725.[19] Whatever be the actual date of this work, it is also couched in the Paurāṇic-style. It has been stated that before the creation of the world, there was Sang Hyang Viśeṣa, who created Heaven, Earth, the Sun, the Moon, Man or Manik Maya and other bodies. He then placed various persons in charge of different regions. The story then relates how Sang Hyang Guru became Nilakaṇṭha and how the demons attempted to drink the celestial ambrosia. This work also includes materials of indigenous nature. The work is thus based on various mythological and cosmogonical traditions of India and Indonesia loosely knit together in one framework.

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[19] Quoted by Vreede, *Cat. van de Jav. en Mad. HSS.* (1892), 13ff.

A recent work by C. Hooykaas entitled *Cosmogony and Creation in Balinese Tradition* (1974) has brought together a wealth of materials in relation to the five seers of India briefly described as Pañca Kosika, namely, Kuśika, Garga, Maitrī, Kauruṣya and Patañjali, who have been interwoven in Indian and Indonesian mythology alike, perhaps to a greater extent than in India, as they have played a significant role from the pre-natal stage to after-life, in Bali at least, where numerous *mantra* or *exorcism-texts* bear on these phenomena.[20]

II. The Āgamas and the Dharmaśāstras

(a) Philosophical and Denominational texts of the Śaivas

There are some Old-Javanese theological and philosophical works which betray considerable influence exerted by Buddhist and Śaiva schools of thought. Of the more important works of this category, we may refer to the names of the *Bhuvanakoṣa*,[1] *Bhuvanasamkṣepa*[2] the *Tattva Sang Hyang Mahajñāna*,[3] the *Bṛhaspatitattva*,[4] the *Gaṇapatitattva*[5] and the

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[20] Published by Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1974.

II

[1] Goris, *Theologie*, 75, 94-98 ; Juynboll, *Supplement II*, 261.

[2] Goris, *op. cit.*. 96 ff. ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit* , 43 ff.

[3] Goris, *op. cit.*, 110 ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 55ff.

[4] Ed. Sudarshana Devi Singhal.

[5] *Ibid*,

Jñānasiddhānta.[5a]

Regarding the general characteristics of such texts, Soebadio has obsered in her dissertation on the *Jñānasiddhānta* (p. 59), "The earlier the *tutur*, the closer it keeps to the Sanskrit model, and the better preserved the Sanskrit ślokas it comprises. Consequently, the later the *tutur*, the further it has left the Indian model, to the point that no Sanskrit ślokas are any longer retained, as the far later *kalepasan* texts quoted by Goris clearly show."

With these brief observations, we shall now discuss these texts one by one. First of all, we shall discuss the *Bhuvanakoṣa.* It is a yoga-manual of the *Śaivas* of the Tantrik school. The text consists of eleven *paṭalas* or chapters of which the first five *paṭalas* explain the mysteries of the Brahman. The sixth paṭala is called the Jñāna-Siddhānta-Śāstram, while the 7th and the 8th *paṭala* are respectively called the Bhasmamantra and the Sakalavidhiśāstram. The remaining *paṭalas* do not bear any specific name. The text contains many Sanskrit ślokas, partly corrupt, and followed by Old-Javanese annotations.

The sixth chapter of the *Bhuvanakoṣa* is also found in the *Jñānasiddhānta* which we propose to discuss now on account of this link, as also for the general Śaivasiddhānta atmosphere pervading these texts, The *Jñānasiddhānta*, like the *Bhuvanakoṣa*, is an Old-Javanese treatise divided into *paṭalas* whose number in this text is 27. In this text, Lord Śiva gives lessons to his wife Umā and, in chapters 26 and 27, to his son Kumāra. The text has doubtless been compiled from various sources of different centuries, but not from any text of the post-Majapahit period. The Sanskrit ślokas in the text would not be less than 180. It covers a wider field of Śaiva-Siddhanta doctrines than any Old-Javanese text hiterto published, the basic principle being, as rightly observed by the editor (p. 48), the philosophy of Void, out of which everything emerges and into which everything ultimately dissolves." The *Bhuvana-samkṣepa* or Synopsis of the World is also a text of the Śaiva Tāntrik school, divided into several chapters, like the former one, and contains many Sanskrit ślokas with Old-Javanese paraphrase. It discusses, like Sanskrit paurāṇic texts, praṇava, vindu, oṁkāra, the philosophy of śūnya, the five bhūtas (*pañcabhūta*), etc. Another interesting work of this category is the *Tattva Sang Hyang Mahājñāna* expounding the implications of liṅga-worship. It is written in the form of a dialogue between Bhaṭāra Guru (Śiva) and Kumāra, of whom the latter seeks instructions about the nature of liṅga-worship.

[5a] Ed. H. Soebadio, Published as Vol. 7 of Bibliotheca Indonesia, 1971.

We shall now discuss the *Bṛhaspatitattva*, also perhaps called *Śivatattva*,[6] which discusses various facets of the Śaivite theology. There are at least 74 Sanskrit ślokas in the text followed by Old-Javanese annotations, which were perhaps provided for the benfit of Tāntrik disciples unacquainted with Sanskrit. It is coached in the form of a dialogue, as usual in the pauraṇic texts, between Maheś-vara and the sage Bṛhaspati. It discusses, among other things, the triguṇatattva, explains what is *dharma* and know-ledge and indicates the way to mokṣa or salvation. It ends with a discourse on the best means of removing hurdles on the path of yoga.

The *Gaṇapatitattva*[7] is also another Old-Javanese text on Śaivite philosophical speculations. It has at least 60 Sanskrit ślokas, composed in Anuṣṭubh metre, but the ślokas are very corrupt. These are followed by Old-Javanese exegesis, but in some places the annotations have gone beyond the original. Here Gaṇapati is the questioner and Śiva is the giver of the replies. It speaks of Oṁkāra, vindu, niṣkala, nāda, etc.

(*b*) *Denominational works of the Buddhists*

We shall here discuss two of the most important

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[6] *Meded. Kirtya Liefrinck van der Tuuk afl. 4* (1935), 86.

[7] Ed. Sudarshana Devi Singhal, publ. International Academy of Indian Culture.

Buddhist Tāntrik texts of Java. One of them is called *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*[8] and the other *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya.*[9] The former was probably composed in Central Java during the reign of the Śailendra dynasty and was revised, in the second quarter of the 10th century, during the reign of king Siṇḍok, by Sambharasūryāvaraṇa. This author is also credited with the composition of another Old-Javanese text called the *Subhūtitantra,*[10] which was a favourite text of king Kṛtanagara, but unfortunately this book has not yet been found. Dr. Goris, who has studied the linguistic peculiarities of the text, discovered three layers in the composition of the text. Consequently it is possible that the oldest part of this text was something like a commentary on a Sanskrit text prevalent during the Śailendra period. Recension A of this text, together with the later part, was composed before the time of Siṇḍok, but since recension C was revised during or after the reign of Siṇḍok, it may be treated as the East-Javanese version of the text.[11] The views of Goris in this regard are generally accepted by scholars.

This text was meant for the Vajrayānists "who are in the maṇḍala and are faithful to the creed." The Sanskrit ślokas of this text are not many and where these occur, they are sub-standard. The author has discussed, among others, the pāramitās, four bhāvanās and four āryasatyas. The portion of the text which has been dubbed *paramaguhya* i.e., very secret does not contain any Sanskrit stanza but defines prāṇāyāma, advayajñāna, vajrajñāna, etc., and speaks of the five Śaktis of the five Tathāgatas, etc.

The *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya,* consisting

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8. Ed. Kats, 1910.
9. Ed. Wulff, 1935.
10. Vide Goris, *op. cit.*, 156 and Krom, *Hindoe-Javansche Geschiedienis* 219-20, cf. in this connexion, Pigeand, Literature of Java I, pp. 50-51.
11. Vide Goris, *op. cit.*, 151 ff.; Wulff, *op cit.*, 9-10.

of 42 Sanskrit ślokas in Anuṣṭubh metre, followed by Old-Javanese exegesis, was the Bible of the Vajradhara sect of Java, at least in the Śailendra period. It may be recalled that mystic elements in Vajrayāna and other cognate cults, of which the philosophical background was provided by the Yogācāra and the Mādhyamika systems of philosophy, went under the generic name of Mantranaya and these constituted the bed-rock, upon which the philosophy of this text was based. It opens with eulogy to Buddha, Tryakṣaras and refers, in the Old-Javanese commentary on the second śloka. to the past and future Buddhas who gain omniscience by observing the system of the great mantras. It emphasises the importance of vajra, ghaṇṭā, mudrā maṇḍalas, etc., and advocates that body should not be excessively afflicted with penances,[12] recommending that the gaining of Buddhaloka may be had through *yathāsukha* ("pleasure as will demands").

(c) *The Nīti Literature*

(i) *Nīti stories*

Of the stories belonging to the Nīti-literature, the most important one is doubtless the *Kuñjarakarṇa*.[13] The date of the work is the subject of controversy and various scholars have put it between the 12th and the 14th century.[14] It recounts how a Yakṣa named Kuñjarakarṇa sought the advice of Vairocana to gain rebirth at a level higher than he was and Vairocana sent him to hell to see how the sinners are punished. Here he was instructed by Yama and was informed that a great sinner named Pūrṇavijaya was to arrive at hell. Pūrṇavijaya was Kuñjarakarṇa's friend. Kuñjarakarṇa immediately returned to Pūrṇavijaya's house and informed him of everything. Pūrṇavijaya's heart was filled up with horror and the two friends went to Vairocana for instructions. Kuñjarakarṇa received instructions and his yakṣa-figure disappeared. Pūrṇavijaya also, after various galling experiences, received salvation.

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[12] Śloka 31. Wulff reads the text as "tapobhirnātha pīḍayet". It should probably be read as tapobhirnāti pīḍayet".

[13] Ed Kern in *VMKAW*, afd. Lett., n s. 3 : 3 (1901). Summary in H. B, Sarkar, *op. cit* , 83 ff, ; Miss L. A. Thomas in *The Indian Antiquary* March, 1903, where an Eng translation has been offered.

[14] Kern placed it in the 12th century, but Juynboll thought that it was composed in the 14th century.

The story of these two yakṣas in their previous births has been narrated in the *Bhuvanatattvaparicaya*,[15] where Pūrṇavijaya has been designated as Mūladhara and Kuñjarakarṇa as Kīrṇagata.

(ii) *Ethical Texts with Sanskrit base*

The Old-Javanese text called *Sārasamuccaya*[16] occupied a very important place in the field of Nīti and jurisprudence. It has indeed been stated in the *Pūrvādigama* that those who would become a *prāgvivāk* i.e., judge must be fully acquainted with the teachings of the *Sārasamuccaya.* It has at least 517 Sanskrit ślokas, of which 321 have already been traced to the *Mahābhārata* and the text is thus the essence of the *Mahābhārata,* for which a claim has been made in the text. It extols virtues and states how *śruti and dharma* sustain these (verses 14-55). It speaks of truth, non-envy, non-injury, faithfulness, patience, restraint, gift, etc., as the best of virtues, which are to be performed by body, mind and speech, but since mind guides them all, the mind is superior to all. It advocates helping the poor and the distressed. The writer of the book seems to have been a Śaiva, as verse no. 398, where Śiva has been described at the most holy emancipator of the wise, would seem to indicate.

Another text book, with an ethical base, is the *Vratiśāsana,*[17] which might have been composed in the 13th century. It has at least 37 Sanskrit ślokas, followed by Old-Javanese commentaries. The text refers to various disciplines which a novice should undergo at his teacher's *āśrama* (hermitage). These include not only following the ten *śīlas*, ten *dharmas*, ten *niyamas*, ten *yamas* and other rules of discipline, but also avoiding the commission of certain dishonourable things, such as union with women of *guru's* (preceptor) family, addiction to drinking, playing dice, hunting, etc.

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[15] Juynboll, *Supplement I* (1907), Cod. 5023 (1).

[16] Ed. Raghuvira, Publ. Intern. Acad. of Indian Culture.

[17] Ed. Sharada Rani. Publ. Intern. Acad, of Indian Culture.

The *Ślokāntara*,[18] another text of this category, has 83 Sanskrit ślokas, with exegesis in Old-Javanese. It opens without any words of benediction and describes Truth as the highest form of religion. In the Old-Javanese annotation which exceeds textual matters, the Brahmins have been classified into Śuklabrahmacāri, Śavalabrahmacāri and Kṛṣṇabrahmacāri, whose specific nature has been defined. The text extols, like works discussed earlier, *dharma*, because, as verse 10 tells us, "money stays behind at home, dear friends lie in the cremation ground, while only the good and the bad actions follow (the soul) like shadow". It also describes how living beings fall into various grades after rebirth according to their actions in previous life. Regarding king, it says how timid kings bring disaster to the country. It recounts that in appointing administrators, the king should select persons who are like lion in the battle field, sweet-speaking in the bevy of ladies and well-versed in śāstric lore among the sages. The book also defines the duties of various castes and functional groups, extols gifts of various kinds and discusses other themes of ethical value.

Other works of this category, though not very well-known, refer to *Palutuk*[19] *Nītivrata*,[20] *Raṇayajna*,[21] etc. The first mentioned work narrates the discussion between Mpu Lutuk and Ahaskar about the soul of a dead person, while the *Nītivrata* presents the discussion between Ciptavarana and Valakula on ethical matters. The *Raṇavajña* which contains some Sanskrit verses describes the battlefield as a sacrificial pit and indicates separate destinations for persons killed in the fight by different means.

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[18] Edited and published by same.

[19] H. B. Sarkar, *op cit.*, 88.

[20] Cod. 3623 (1) Juynboll, *Supplement II* ; H. B Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 88.

[21] Cod. 38 8 (3) in *Ibid.* H. B. Sarkar, in *Ibid.*

(iii) *State-craft and other connected works*

We may now bring some works under the category of statecraft and other related topics. Of such works, the *Rājapatiguṇḍala* is an important work.[22] It seems to have been composed in the 13th century. It has been stated in the text that it was written by king Bhatati and, at the colophon, it clearly states that Bhatati and king Kṛtanagara are the same person. The text principally concerns itself with matters relating to Church organisation and discipline of the spiritual orders. Another work of this category is the *Rāja Kapa Kapa Kapa.*,[23] which has possibly been referred to in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* under the name *Ajar ing Rāja Kapa.*[24] The text as preserved in its modern version, has ten stanzas in daṇḍang-gul metre, discussing what constitutes loyalty and defines the areas of administration of five executive officers called mantri mañcanagara. A small text called *Navaratya* handles the theme of royal etiquette.[25]

Ethical matters, mixed with statecraft, have been handled in the *Nītiśāstra kakavin*[26] and the *Kāmandaka Rājanīti.*[27] The former is an Old-Javanese text with 120 ślokas divided into 15 cantos, using various Sanskrit metres like Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Vaṁśapatrapatita, Padmakeśara, etc. It was probably composed during the last days of Majapahit[28] i.e. "in the second half of the XV-th century, not (much) after 1500". The original of this *Nītiśāstra kakavin* may have existed in India, but Hooykaas believes that the ślokas might have been rearranged; even resorting to addition or omission is not ruled out. This work deals with ethical and wise sayings and has very little in common with the Sanskrit *Kāmandakīya Nītiśara.*

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[22] Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th century*, I, 87-90 ; III, 129-137.

[23] *Ibid.* I, 92-95 ; III, 139-40.

[24] *Ibid.* IV, 288, 370.

[25] *Ibid.* I, 81-86 and III, 119-28 ; IV. 351-59.

[26] Poerbatjaraka, *Nītiśāstra, Oud-Javaansch tekst met vertaling*, etc. Biblio. Jav., no. 4 (1933).

[27] C. Hooykaas in *JGIS XV* (1956), 18 ff.

[28] *Ibid*, 21.

The second work, namely the Old-Javanese *Kāmandaka* has however some kinship with the Sanskrit *Kāmandakīya Nītiśara.* The Sanskrit text has 19 chapters, with 1200 ślokas, but the Old-Javanese text, written in prose, has only 19 sheets of palm-leaves, with four lines written on each side. So the Old a Javanese text can at best be treated as a fragment of the Sanskrit text or culled from an anthology.[29] The text opens with the remark of sage Kāmandaka that he would instruct his disciples in sang aji rājanīti i.e. the sacred statecraft. The sage advises that wise kings take care of the priests, the Brāhmaṇas, ācāryas and persons knowing the *Vedas*, etc., their only friends being dharma, artha, kāma, etc. The sage offers advice on appropriate circumstances when the battle may be fruitful, indicates the possible weak spots of enemies and handles the theme of the battle-order.

The sage Vyāsa plays the leading role of a teacher in the Old-Javanese work called the *Nītipraya*[30] It discusses how king Suparkadeva of Ayodhya, while on a hunting excursion, met the sage Ratnabhūmi, who was pleased with the king and gave him initiation as a disciple. When the king was threatened with invasion by Aji Angvang, the ruler of Danavu-Abu, he sought the advice of his *guru* Ratnabhumi. On orders of the *guru*, the sage Raveya instructed the king about statecraft, in its various implications, and following these, the king became victorious over Aji Angvang

(*iv*) *The Śāsana or the Smṛti literature*

In Indonesia, as in many other countries of South-East

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[29] *Ibid*, 23.

[30] Juynboll, *Supplement II*, 243 ff. Hooykaas, *op. cit*, 34 ff

Asia, the *Manusamhitā* had its majestic sway. The Śiva-mānasa or Purvādigama describes itself as merely recording the provisions uttered by Śiva. In the Ṛṣiśāsana, it has been further stated that Manu was the first king who introduced the *Sivaśāsana* for the benefit of the Śaivas. In any case, several Old-Javanese texts on jurisprudence, such as the *Kuṭārāmanava*, the *Svarajambu*, the *Ādigama*, etc., have been based on the *Manusamhitā*. Of these, the most important one was the *Kuṭārāmānava*, as it has been referred to in several inscriptions of Java[31] as well as in literature, for example, in such texts as the *Bhomakāvya*,[32] the *Ṛṣiśāsana*,[33] *Puruṣādasanta*,[34] etc. The tribal organisation of ancient Java and the laws of the *Manusamhitā* based on social distinctions must have created difficulties in the way of administration of justice and this dilemma is sometimes reflected in the Old-Javanese law-books.

The *Kuṭāramānava*[35] is stated in the text to have been promulgated by Bhṛgu in the The Tretā age, thus recording exactly the same tradition as we found in Kambuja and some other places. In the preparation of this text, the author has specifically used the 8th and the 9th chapters of the *Manusamhitā* and some ślokas are also found in the text. The laws enunciated here pertain to civil and criminal procedure. These handle provisions regarding the eight kinds of thieves, six kinds of anti-social elements (*saḍ-ātatāvī*), libel, physical insult, murder etc. It also handles marriage laws, which are somewhat liberal from those of the *Manusamhitā*, as these recognise divorce. Laws concerning the payment of interest, about slaves, mortgage of property, inheritance, etc., have also been brought within the purview of this law-book.

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31. For example, in the Trawulan Inscription. Tr. H. B. Sarkar in *Indian Culture II*.
32. 1/5.
33. Pigeaud, *Tantu*, 300.
24. *Ibid*, 294 ; Juynboll, *Supplement I*, 211.
35. Jonker, *Fen Oud-Javaansch wetboek vergelekem met Indische rechtsbronnen*, 1885.

The *Purvādigama*,[36] another law-book, calls itself at the colophon, *Śivaśsāsana*. It has some Sanskrit slokas. The text also contains elucidations of many technical terms found in Old-Javanese charters from the Tumapel-Majapahit period.[37] The text might have been composed in the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century. It refers to the important role played by the Bhujaṅga-Śiva or Śaiva Dharma-mahāmātra who were the protectors of their *adhigama-sastrasarodhṛta*, the first place being occupied by the *dharmādhvakṣas* or Superintendents of religion.

Another law-book is called *Svara-Jambu*.[38] The major part of the *aṣṭadaśavyāvahāra* or eighteen provisions of law have been incorporated here from the 8th and 9th chapters of the *Manusamhītā*, but the author has here, and there, added his own remarks, which are absent in the Sanskrit text.[39] The work was probably composed in the 14th century.

The work *Ādigama*,[40] another Old-Javanese law-book, has some stray Sanskrit verses. It also handles legal injunctions regarding the eight classes of anti-social elements, the eight classes of thieves, provisions regarding grazing of cattle, etc. Among other Old-Javanese law-books, we may refer to the names of *Karma ning Sākṣi*[41] *the Aṣṭādaśavyavahāra*,[42] *Devadaṇḍa*,[43] *Ṛṣiśāsana*,[44] etc. These texts have not yet been properly studied. Of these texts, the first mentioned text contains some corrupt Sanskrit ślokas, of which a few have been traced to the *Manusamhitā*. The *Aṣṭādaśavyāvahāra* begins with the familiar Sanskrit formula *avighnamastu*. It has been written in Old-Javanese, but the text is interspersed with Sanskrit. It also speaks of *aṣṭaduṣṭas*, also spoken of in the *Ādigama*, and refers to Majapahit. The date of its composition cannot therefore be before 1292. *Devadaṇḍa* another Old-Javanese text on jurisprudence, is also known under the name of *Dharmavicāra*. The work is distributed over 35 articles mainly handling criminal laws. The *Ṛṣiśāsana* mainly handles provisions regarding rules and regulations of the religious orders.

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[36] Van Naerssen in *BKI 100* (1941), 360. For details vide H. B. Sarkar, *Indian Influences*, 96 ff.

[37] Van Naerssen in *Ibid*, 360, 369,

[38] For details vide H. B. Sarkar *op. cit.*. 98-99 and Van Naerssen in *Ibid*, 364-65, 369, 372 and f. n. 2, 374 ff.

[39] See also Pigeaud, *Literature of Java I*, 307.

[40] HBS, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-8.

[41] *Ibid*, 98-9.

[42] Juynboll, *Supplement II*, cod. 882 ; Pigeaud, *op cit.*, p. 307.

[43] Vide Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th century IV*, 373.

III. Grammar, prosody, rhetoric and professional literature

From the nature of the case, the Indo-Javanese grammatical and lexicographical literature must have been composed early, but it is difficult to assign any particular date to these works, though the origin of some of them in Central Java is not, prima facie, impossible. Of such works, the *Svaravyañjana*,[1] the *Ādisvara*,[2] the *Kṛtavasa*,[3] the *Sukṣavasa*[4] and the *Kārakasaṃgraha*[5] deserve special mention. Some of these texts were not only designed to teach Sanskrit gramatical rules but also to serve as handbooks to facilitate exercises in translation from one language to another.[6]

The *Svaravyañjana* is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the vowels and the consonants, while the second part handles conjugation and Sanskrit compositon. The text offers some interesting cases of *sandhi*-rules or euphonic combination of words. It also discusses short and long sounds of the vowels called *ekamātra*, *dvimātra*, etc. The *vyañjanas* or consonants have similarly been classified into various categories, such as the *ghoṣa*, *anudātta* (called

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1. Juynboll, *Supplement II*, 216 ff. ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 107 ff ; Gonda-*Sanskrit in Indonesia*, 104 ff.
2. Juynboll, *Supplement II*, cod. 4009 ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit*, 111.
3. H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 111 ; Juynboll *op. cit*, 207.
4. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, 216, no. 1518.
5. Vide S. Levi, *op. cit.*, xxxi and 87-88 ; Gonda, *op. cit.*, 106.
6. H. B. Sarkar, *op, cit.*, 109 ff. Cf. S. Levi, *op cit.*, xxxi.

anudantya in the text), *mahāprāṇa*, *alpaprāṇa*, etc. A section of this text bears the designation *Kṛtavasa* (apparently a corruption of Saṁskṛta bhāṣā). It offers some instructions regarding the composition of Sanskrit, including the rendering of Sanskrit sentences into Old-Javanese.

The *Kārakasamgraha* deals, among others, with rules governing case-endings in Sanskrit, translation from Sanskrit into the varnacular, etc. t has about 45 Sanskrit ślokas. Of interest to both historian and linguist is the mention of the fact that in the composition of the text, the *Kātantra* and the *Mahātantra* have been described by the author as the basis of his work. It has been pointed out by S. Levi[7] that the definitions of cases, as given in the text, very closely resemble those in the *Kātantra* of Sarvavarman. In one of the MSS, the Balinese commentator has observed that the reference to Kavīndra in the text refers to Pāṇini and nobody else.[8] The study of these texts in Burma and Indo-China indicate the authority of these texts in both India and South-east Asia. The study of the Sanskrit *Cāndravyakaraṇa* by high government officers of medieval Java is attested by contemporary inscriptions.[9]

There are also some Old-Javanese texts of lexicogragraphical nature, into which elements of some heterogenous character have been thrown in. The *Ādisvara* is one of such works, but its spellings are often corrupt. Another text of this category is the *Ekalavya*,[10] which Gonda believes to be the corrupted form of *Ekārthalabhya*.[11] It describes the meanings of some chronograms and offers the equivalents of words standing for tree, metal, earth, water, cloud, star, different gods, animals, princes, limbs of the body, etc. The *Sukṣavasa* also contain lists of words, offering the names of sacred texts and events and giving expansions thereof. The work *Kṛtavasa*, described earlier also partakes the nature of lexicography, as it offers the synonyms of Gaṇeśa, Varuna, Indra, Agni and many other deities, of snake, king, heavenly nymphs, etc. The *Caṇṭakaparva* mainly describes myths and epic stories, out has also paragraphs on the Old-Javanese language, particularly lexicography, but they constitute a minor part of the text.

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[7] *Op. cit.*, xxxi and 87-88.

[8] *Ibid*, xxxi.

[9] H. B. Sarkar in *JGIS III* (1936), 108-12.

[10] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, cod. 3906 (1) and 5140 (2).

[11] Vide Van der Tuuk, *KBNW I*, 146 ; Gonda, *op. cit.*, 125 f. n. 38.

Perhaps the most important work of this category is the Sanskrit Old-Javanese lexicon named *Amaramālā.*[12] which partakes of the nature of Sanskrit *koṣas.* It furnishes the synonyms of various gods and goddesses of Hindu and Buddhist pantheon, with comments in Old-Javanese. It served as a dictionary in understanding Old-Javanese texts using Sanskrit words and in undertaking the writing of such texts. The importanc of this book lies in the fact that it was compiled according to the orders of king Jitendra, but his connexion with the Śailendra rulers of Java, referred to in the text, is unknown.[13] On account of this reference, this text has been referred to the period when the Śailendras were ruling in Central Java. The *Amaramālā* constitutes the middle-section of the text known as *Caṇḍakarana,* which, originating from Śailendra times 8th-9th century[14], handles metrics and offers Old-Javanese equivalents for some Sanskrit works standing for creeper, animals, different parts of the body, months, house, river, etc.

There are also Old-Javanese texts on Sanskrit metres. As Old-Javanese kakavins are written in Sanskrit metres, such texts were needed as compendiums for use by poets and other writers. Of such texts the most important one was the Vṛttasañcaya written by Mpu Tanakung in about tke 12th century[15] It is however evident that since the

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12. Krom, in *Mededeelingen Amsterdam Academy*, LVIII, 203 ff.
13. For historical significance of this text and other important points. vide Krom, Hindoe-Javansche Geschiedenis, 151.
14. Vide Kern, *VG IX*, 273 ff. Juynboll, *Supplement I*, 170 ff. ; Gonda *op. cit* , 107 ; H. B Sarkar, *Some Contributions*, 91-92 and J. Enskin in *R. C. Majumdar Felicitation Volume*, 181, particularly footnote 13. Krom (op. cit., 50) thought that it dates from a later period.
15. First edited by Friederich in *VBG XXII* (1849) ; Kern's article

Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* was written in the beginning of the tenth century in various Sanskrit metres, there must have been earlier works on metrics which must have been superseded by the *Vṛttasañcaya.* The text under discussion contains more than a hundred Sanskrit metres. It refers to Rāmasamuni in the 4th Śloka and to Piṅgala and Piṅgala śāstra in the 7th and 109th śloka respectively. Kern compared the text with Kedara's *Vṛttaratnākara* and the *Piṅgalachandaḥsūtra*, but without any fruitful result.[16] The text merely offers an exposition of the *vṛttas*; the *mātrāchandaḥ* and the *gaṇachandaḥ* have not been discussed in the work. The *Vṛttāyana*, another metrical text, handles such metres as vṛṣabhagativilasita, maṇiguṇanikara, etc., but it has not yet been properly edited.[17]

The authors of Old-Javanese works, both poets and writers of prose, were well acquainted with Sanskrit *alamkāra* or rhetoric. Many of them have used with remarkable effect Sanskrit rhetorical embellishmenrs, such as *upamā*, *anuprāsa*, *yamaka*, *apanhuti*, etc. A good example of *anuprāsa* or alliteration may, for example, be furnished from Prapañca, who writes:[18]

"Prapañca pracacah pañca pracacad pocapan ceced,
Prapong pipi pucche prem, pracongcong cet pacehpaceh."

Varieties of *yamaka*, such as *sandaṣṭa yamaka* also occur here and there, e.g. in the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyana.*[19] A case of *Samsayopamā* has been culled by Aichele from the *Bhāratayuddha.*[20] *Upamās* or similes are too numerous to be quoted.[21] Even stereotyped passages covering the arrival

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originally published in 1875 was reprinted in *VG IX* (1920); H. B. Sarkar, *Indian Influences*, 115-17.

[16] It is to be hoped that the publication in future of Yādava-prakāśa's commentary on the *Piṅgalachandaḥsūtra* will enable us to institute a fresh comparison.

[17] Juynboll, *Supplement II*, 491; Gonda, *op. cit.*, 108; text has recently been published in Zoetmulder, *Kelingwan* pp. 444 ff.

[18] 96: 1-2.

[19] *OLZ. 29* (1926), 935 and H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 122.

[20] *OLZ, op. cit.*, 938 and H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.* 127.

[21] H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 125-26. Of later works, "mention may be

of important persons at ceremonial functions have been drawn up in a similar way in many places of Sanskrit, Malay and Old-Javanese literature, to which I have drawn attention already.[22] The writers of *kakavins* have presented women with collyrium on their eye-lashes, body and hair rendered more beautiful with flowers, faces perfumed, with a thin waist-line and so on. Such beautiful women adorn the pages of the *Meghadūta*,[23] *Raghuvamśa*,[24] *Malavikāgnimitra*,[25] *Kumārsambhava*,[26] *Ratnāvalī*,[27] etc.

Although the writers of *kavi*-poesy have shown considerable proficiency in both rhetoric and prosody, they do not appear to have delved deep into Sanskrit poetics. Present indications do not encourage us to believe that they delighted in literary criticism and aesthetic appreciation of *dhvani*, *rasa*, the processes for the realisation of that *rasa* and so forth.

We have also some texts on medical sciences (*Usada*), astrology, astronomy and miscellaneous works. Medical texts usually open with invocations to various deities.[28] The Bomor or Pavang physicians of Malaysia employ even now terms, such as naḍi (=nāḍī i.e., vein), sendi (=sandhi i.e., joint of bones), selesem (=śleṣmā i.e., cough), etc., which are clearly of Sanskrit origin. In the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*,[29] we come across many physiological terms of clear Sanskrit origin. Some Sanskrit ślokas occur in *Cod.* 3943 (1). In fact, the medical treatises of Indonesia are hybrid compounds of Hindu-Buddhist-Islamic elements.

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made of the study made by R. B. Slametmuljana, *Poezie in Indonesia*, 194ff

[22] Vide *supra* and H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.* 129-30.

[23] *Pūrvamegha*, 27 ; *Uttaramegha*, 2, 11.

[24] 7/27 ; 9/28 ; 13/49 ; 16/48 ; 16/59 ; etc.

[25] Under 3/125.

[26] 7/20 ; 7/59.

[27] Under 1/11.

[28] H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 133.

[29] *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, cantos VI & VIII. Vide also M. Weck, *Heilkunde und Volkstum auf Bali*, 1937 and R. Goris in *Djawa*, 1937, pp. 281-290 ; Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 192 and f.n. 32.

The *Variga* was also studied widely in Java and Bali. Indeed, it has been clearly stated in the *Raja Kapa Kapa*, "It is incumbent upon every man of condition...to know to count years, months, days, and comprehend the *sangkāla* (i.e., the candrasaṅkala) and the *Kavi*-language." The tradition of the transmission of the *variga* from India to Java has been preserved in Indonesia,[30] and the internal evidence of the *Variga*-literature also confirms this tradition. The opening section of the Old-Javanese charters not only specifies the Śaka year in which the charter was promulgated, but also the name of the Indian month, tithi, pakṣa, vāra, karaṇa, muhūrta, etc. The auspicious and inauspicious kṣaṇas in a day, such as Amṛta, Śūnya, Kāla, Pati and Linyoka, are also referred to, even as the signs of the zodiac like Meṣa, Vṛṣa, Mithuna, Karkaṭa etc.[31]

IV. The Epic Literature

The Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, which is perhaps the best kakavin we have, handles the immortal theme of Vālmīki which was well-known in Java long before the text under discussion was composed. The author of this work was Yogīśvara, as stated in the colophon, but this was probably the spiritual designation of the poet.[1] According to Balinese tradition, his name was Kusumavicitra or Rājakusuma.[2]

The date of the kakavin was the subject of keen controversy for a very long time.[3] Kern placed it in the second half of the 12th century A.D., but scholars are now generally inclined in favour of a date in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D.[4] Poerbatjaraka stated more precisely[5] that the text was composed during the reign of Dyah Balitung, c. 820-832 Śaka, but due to various difficulties which I have discussed elsewhere,[5a] it is difficult to be dogmatic about the dates. We are however fortunate in the matter that the source of this text has been traced with certainty to the *Rāvaṇavadha*, popularly known as the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, written by Bhaṭṭi.[6] About two-thirds of the Sanskrit text have been translated into Old-Javanese, while the source-materials for the rest have been derived from sources unknown.[7] The text contains 2774 stanzas divided into 26 cantos. It is believed by many scholars that just as the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* was written to teach grammatical rules to young learners, so also the Old-Jav. *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed to illustrate different Sanskrit metres (some metres have not yet been identified) and perhaps Sanskrit *alamkāra* (embellishment) also. The poet has used with considerable effect Sanskrit type of *alamkāra* like *anuprāsa*, *yamaka*, *rūpaka*, *utprekṣā*, *apanhuti*, *upamā*, etc. On account of the mastery of the poet over Sanskrit language, rhetoric and prosody, some have even suggested

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[30] H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 134-35.

[31] *Ibid.*, 140-41 ; Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, I, pp. 31-33.

IV

[1] The qualifications needed to hold the spiritual title of Yogīśvara have been specified in the *Bṛhaspatitattva* (ed., S. Devi), 48 ; Pigeaud, *Java in the fourteenth Century*, III, 132ff.

[2] *VBG* XXII, no. 11, 12.

[3] For the date of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, vide Poerbatjaraka in *BKI* (1926), 181-82 and 265-72 ; *TBG* 72 (1932), 151-214 ; Goris in *Djawa* 7 (1927), 268-69 ; H.B. Sarkar, *The Migration of the Rāmāyaṇa-story to Indonesia and some problems connected with*

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the structure and contents of the Old-Jav. Rāmāyaṇa. Read at the International Seminar on the *Rāmāyaṇa* Tradition in Asia, New Delhi, Dec. 1975.

[4] Vide C. Hooykaas, *The Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, an exemplary kakavin as to form and content*, in Verhand. Kon. Nederland. Akad. Wetensch., afd. Lett., n.s , 65, no. I, 5.

[5] Poerbatjaraka, *Kapustakan Djawi*, 2, quoted by Slametmuljana, *op.cit.*, 17.

[5a] In the article quoted under note 3 above.

[6] H. B. Sarkar, *Indian Influences*, 180 and M. M. Ghosh in *JGIS*, III. 113-17.

[7] At the end of Book 22, verse 33, the poet says, "This work is like a lamp for those whose eye is grammar, but is like a mirror in the hand of the blind or people without grammar. This poem must be understood with a commentary, then it is feast for the discerning ones. As I only like to deal with experts, fools will fare badly with this poem."

that Yogīśvara might have received his training in India itself. Some scholars believe that there are different strata in the structure of the poem and that more than one author might have taken a part in the composition of the poem as we have it, but the point is not free from complexities. In any case, the story, as told here, broadly follows Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, but ends with the return of Rāma, Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa and their entourage to Ayodhyā.[7a]

The Old-Javanese *Uttarakāṇḍa* is not an integral part of the Old-Jav. Rāmāyaṇa, but is an independent text. It is almost a free translation of the Sanskrit work. It may not be accidental that both in India and in countries outside India the *Rāmāyaṇa*-story very often ends with the coronation of Rāma and Sītā amidst universal rejoicings. The theme of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* either does not occur therein or the subject is handled in independent texts. This attitude of authors may be due to the fact that Bhāmaha in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra* (I.20), which was composed in about A.D. 700, has stated clearly, in connexion with discussion on Sargabandha/Mahākāvya, that a *mahākāvya* should deal with "the good fortune of the hero", which dictum is not fulfilled in the case of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*.

The first part of the Old-Javanese *Uttarakāṇḍa* discusses the ancestry of Rāvaṇa from his great grand-father Brahmā, records his military activities in the three worlds, in which he was able to secure Laṅkāpurī, but sustained a defeat in the hands of Arjuna Sahasrabāhu. He was saved on the intercession of Bhagavān Pulastya, but his invasion of Kiṣkindhyā was foiled by the magic power of Vālin. He had also invaded the Nether World of the king of Death, but the fight was stopped by Brahmā, as the whole world might be destroyed by the fire blazing out from the mouth of the King of Death. Indrajit, the crown-prince of Laṅkāpurī, was however successful in defeating Indra, but the latter was released through the intervention of Brahmā.

[7a] For an English summary vide H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-94; C. Hooykaas, *The Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin*, pp. 39-53; Zoetmulder, *Kalingwan*, 217-26.

This part of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* was narrated by the ṛṣis or sages. The second part discusses the episodes connected with the banishment of Sītā in Vālmīki's hermitage, the birth of Lava and Kuśa, the composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Vālmīki, its recitation by Lava and Kuśa, the descent of Sītā in the Netherworld and Rāma's ascent to heaven in divine form.[8]

There are many later recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Indonesia. Of these, the more important ones are the *Rāmāyaṇa Sasaka*,[9] the *Rāma Kling*,[10] the *Serat Kāṇḍa*,[11] the *Rāma Kidung Bali*,[12] etc. Others are too numerous in their varieties to be mentioned here. Suffice it to mention, that there are about 1200 different recensions of the story in East Java alone. Its popularity is reflected not only in the panelling of the story in relief on the temples of Prambanan in central Java and Panataran in East Java, but also in the development of a cycle of stories based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, such as the *Sumanasāntaka*, the *Arjunavijaya*, the *Hariśraya*, etc.

The *Sumanasāntaka*,[13] the title of which has been explained as *Sumanasā* (i.e., by flower) *antaka* (i.e., death) i.e., Death by flower, offers an elaborate story based upon the love-affair of Aja and Indumatī, the father and mother respectively of king Daśaratha. The book was composed by poet Monaguṇa about c. 1104. It runs into 180 cantos and has been exquisitely handled in various Sanskrit measures. The story has also been handled in the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Padmapurāṇa*, but they differ in a marked way from the

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[8] H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 195 ; Zoetmulder, *op. cit.*, 83-87.

[9] Juynboll, *Supplement* II, 65ff.

[10] *Ibid*, 67ff.

[11] *Ibid*, 52ff.

[12] Juynboll, *Supplement* III, 131ff. For the later *Rāmāyaṇas*, vide Stutterheim, *Rāma legenden und Rāma reliefs in Indonesien* ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 196-211 with references cited in these works.

[13] H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 224-29 ; Zoetmulder, *op. cit*, p. 298 and p. 374.

kakavin.[14] It tells us how Hariṇī, the celestial nymph, was cursed for certain offences by the sage Tṛṇavindu and was born as a daughter of king Krathakeśika of Vidarbha. Now, when this happened and the princess grew up, king Aja of Ayodhyā won her in a *svayamvara*-contest. In course of time, Daśaratha was born. On one occasion, when Nārada was flying across the sky, a chaplet of flowers attached to his musical instrument fell on the bosom of Indumatī when she was sitting at a pleasure garden with Aja, and she was instantly killed, thus fulfilling the curse of Tṛṇavindu.

The Old-Javanese work *Arjunavijaya*[15] handles the theme of Arjunasahasravāhu's fight with Rāvaṇa. It was composed by Mpu Tantular sometime after 1365. The story of the *Hariśraya*[16] based upon the Old-Javanese version of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* discusses how the gods were threatened by Mālyavān, the king of Laṅkā, and his brothers Māli and Sumāli. On Śiva's advice the gods turned for succour to Viṣṇu, who killed Māli and Mālyavān, while Sumāli fled to the netherworld. The gods who had fallen in the battle-field were revived by Viṣṇu who sprinkled *amṛta* (nectar) on their body. There are several recensions of this work, but they differ more in form than in contents.

Not less popular was the *Mahābhārata*, of which the Ādi,[17] Virāṭa,[18] Udyoga[19] and the Bhīṣmaparva were composed by orders of king Dharmavamśa teguh Anantavikrama (991-1007). In discussing these *Mahābhārata* parvans,

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[14] H B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 225-26.

[15] *Ibid*, 230-31 ; Zoetmulder, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

[16] *Ibid.*, 229- 0.

[17] Ed, Juynboll, *Ādiparwa*, 1906 ; Zoetmulder, De taal van het Ādiparwa, een grammatical studie van het Oud-Javaans, in *VBG 79* (1950) ; H. B Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 2 6-40 for summary.

[18] Ed., Juynboll, *Wiraṭaparwa*, 1912 ; Wulff, *Den Oldjavanske Wirataparwa og dens Sanskrit original* (1916-17) ; Fokker, *Wirāṭaparwa*, 1938, H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit*, 240-44.

[19] Not yet edited. For an English summary, H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 244-48 and Zoetmulder *kalangwan*, pp. 74-77 and fn. 4. The old-Jav. text starts with the subject of chap. III of the corresponding Skt. text.

Zoetmulder has observed in the *Kalangwan* (p 87), "Generally speaking, the Old-Javanese compilers have kept closely to what one of them, in the introduction to the Virāṭaparva, has described as his aim : to render the work conceived in Vyāsa's mind into plain Javanese (*mangjavāken Byāsamata*)". The texts thus reveal that they are sometimes an abridged paraphrase and sometimes a succinct translation of the Sanskrit original. The Sanskrit quotations were believed by Gonda[20] to be points of reference, but Zoetmulder suggests that these were inserted to throw the story into greater relief, besides underlining their sacred magical character. These texts were written in prose. The views of Pigeaud recently expressed in his *Literature of Java*, I, p. 15, merit quotation. He says, "As to the Old-Javanese religious texts, their prose might be a survival of the prose of the Javanese paraphrases of Sanskrit ślokas which formed the beginning of Old-Javanese religious literature. A similar explanation of the prose of the Old-Javanese Mahābhārata Parvas and Purāṇic texts might apply. Originally these books also contained Sanskrit quotations. At present the fragmentary Sanskrit ślokas in the texts which have come down to us seem to have only the function of rubrics. The lengthy Old-Javanese prose paragraphs contain far more than paraphrases of the Sanskrit words." In any case, if modern practices in the vernacular literature of India be any guide, it would appear that the insertion of Sanskrit ślokas in the vernacular texts is done to highlight a point, gaining for it the sacred sanction of high religious authority. Regarding the Virāṭaparva, it has been observed by Wulff that the text bears greater similarity with the northern recension of the Sanskrit text than the southern one, but that "it kept aloof from both in some sense, while the two Indian recensions were more closely related to each other."[20a] It is only recently that the *Sabhāparva Perikan* containing six cantos have been discovered in Bali.[21] The text follows the Sanskrit original faithfully, but has "enlargements in description to be classified as topoi."[22] An old-Javanese version of the text is therefore expected to be discovered in future. The Old-Javanese *Bhagavadgītā*, which contains many Sanskrit Ślokas, is an abridged version of the Sanskrit text.[23] It has been emboxed in the *Bhīṣmaparva*, but its relation to any extant recension in India has not yet been determined. The *Bhāratayuddha kakavin*,[24] which is one of the most important Old-Javanese poems, is connected with the central parvans of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*. It was composed by Mpu Sedah, the preceptor of king Jayabhaya of Kadiri, but when the poet fell into disgrace, the later portion of the poem was completed by Mpu Panuluh, a Buddhist author, in 1157. The text contains 52 cantos, with 731 stanzas, written in various Sanskrit measures, the number of stanzas varying between 3 and 43 in a canto. The editors of this work have described it as a "magisterial composition".[25] Of the later books of the *Mahābhārata*, only four, namely the *Āśrama*, *Mauṣala*, *Prasthānika* and the *Svargārohaṇa* have been found and the first three of these parvans have been edited.[26] These works seem to have been composed in the 14th century.[27]

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[20] Ed., Gonda, *Het Oud-Javaansche Bhīṣmaparwa*, 1936 ; see also his *Aanteekeningen bij het Oud-javaansche Bhīṣmaparwa*, 1937.

[20a] Wulff, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

There are many *kakavins* belonging to the *Mahābhārata*-cycle, of which the more important ones are the *Arjunavivāha*,[28] the *Harivamśa*,[29] *Harivijaya*,[30] *Ratnavijaya*,[31] the *Ghaṭotkacāśraya*,[32] *Koravāśrama*[33] and the Kṛṣṇāntaka.[34] Among these works, the *Arjunavivāha* was composed by Kaṇva during the reign of king Airlangga in 36 cantos. It describes how the demon-king Nivātakavaca, lord of Maṇimāntaka, defeated the gods. In their distress, the gods turned for succour to Arjuna who was undergoing austere penances on the Indrakila hill. , His strenghth of mind was tested by a bevy of nymphs, his knowledge by Indra and his martial qualities by Nīlakaṇṭha in the guise of a Kirāta. Successful in these trials, he was persuaded by the gods to fight against Nivātakavaca, who was ultimately killed by him. The *Harivamśa* was composed by a Buddhist author named Panuluh, who handles the theme of the love-episode of Kṛṣṇa and Rukminī. It was composed during the reign of king Jayabhaya of Kadiri, as the last verse of the second stanza seems to suggest. Many episodes of the Sanskrit *Harivamśa*. which is usually regarded in India as Appendix to the *Mahābhārata*, have furnished much materials for the poets and artists of Greater India.[35] The *Harivijaya* also narrates some stories from the *Mahābhārata*, such as the Churning of the Milk Sea, the Story of Rāhu, the fiight between gods and

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[21] C. Hooykaas in *JMBRAS XXXVIII* (1965), 125 ff.

[22] *Ibid*, 127.

[23] For the Old-Javanese text, vide Gonda, *Biblio. Jav.*, no. 7, 38-65. The same author has discussed the "The Javanese version of the *Bhagavadgītā*"in *TBG* 75 (1935), 36-82.

[24] Ed. Gunning, *Bhāratayuddha Kakawin Oud-Javaansche Heldendicht*, 1903. Translated by Poerbatjaraka and C. Hooykaas in *Djawa* 14 (1934), 1-87. See also Cohen Stuart, *Brata Joeda* in *VBG* 27 and 28 (1860).

[25] Poerbatjaraka and C. Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, Inleiding, 8.

[26] Juynboll, *Drie boeken van het Oud-Javaansch Mahābhārata in kawi tekst en Nederlandsch vertaling*, etc., 1893. For summary, vide H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 254-261.

[27] See *BKI*, 72, 401 ff.

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28. Tr. Poerbatjaraka in *BKI*, 82 (1926), 181-305. Summary in H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 267 ff. and Zoetmulder, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-50. Several modern versions of this text are connected with the names of Jasadipura and Pakubuvana III. Many of its scenes have been portrayed in the bas-reliefs of temples, such as those at Candi Jago, Suravana, Kedaton, etc.
29. Ed., Teeuw, in *VKI* 9 (1950), with text, translation and notes. Summary in H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit*, 261- 2 ; Zoetmulder, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
30. H B. Sarkar, *op. cit*, 263-64.
31. *Ibid.*, 264-65.
32. *Ibid*, 26 -66 ; Zoetmulder, *op. cit*, p. 263.
33. Ed, Swellengrebel. Vide also the same author in *JGIS III* (1936), 67-85.
34. H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 285.

Ibid., 263.

demons, etc. The duel between Sunda and Upasunda over the celestial damsel Lottama (Tilottamā) has furnished the theme of the Old-Javanese poem *Ratnavijaya*. The title of the poem appears from verse 5 of canto XXII. Some figures of the *Mahābhārata* also play a prominent role in the Old-Javanese work entitled *Ghaṭotkacāśraya*, which is also called *Ghaṭotkacaśaraṇa* in the first verse of canto 50. The kernel of the story is formed by the account of the fight between Abhimanyu and Lakṣaṇakumāra over the lovely damsel named Kṣitisundari. Ghaṭotkaca came to the aid of his cousin and turned the scale of the war in his favour. This work has served as a quarry for many Malay and Javanese Wayang stories. The *Koravāśrama* unfolds the story of the resurrection of the heroes of the Bhārata-War. It is a prose-work and draws its main inspiration from the later portions of the *Mahābhārata*, but its sanskrit quotations are very often gibberish and meaningless. It might have been composed in the 14th century. It has also a kidung recension.[36] The *Kṛṣṇāntaka* is an Old-Javanese poem. The author has mentioned the source of his work in the tenth strophe of the 34th canto, which also mentions the name of the book. The first four cantos of this book are based on the *Aśramavāsaparva*, while the next twenty cantos draw their main inspiration from the *Mosalaparva*. The *Prasthānikaparva* has been utilised in canto 25 to 34. Another Old-Javanese text, probably dating from the 15th century, is the *Navaruci*[37] of which a new Javanese version exists under the title *Bimasuci*. It describes Bhīma's search for the elixir of life. Not less interesting is the story of *Sang Satyavān*, which handles the story of Sāvitrī and Satyavān, but the frame-work of the story is quite different.

Among other Old-Javanese works whose source can not be easily determined or which is found in different Sanskrit texts, the most interesting, if not the most important, is the *Smaradahana*[37] written by Mpu Dharmaja during the reign of king Kāmeśvara I (c. 1115-1130) or II (c. 1185). It handles in forty cantos the famous story of the burning of the Love-god by the fire of Rudra's eyes, as the former tried to kindle the passion of the latter for Umā, the daughter of the Himālayas. The story has been handled in many Sanskrit texts, but what invests the *Smaradahana* with peculiar interest is the fact that, in the *Pamañcangah* kidung, it has been stated that the poet Dharmaja obtained his materials from the *Candapurāṇa*, which has been supposed to be the corrupted form of the name of the *Skandapurāṇa*. But a comparison of the two texts has indicated that they differ in important details.[38] The story of *Sutasoma* or *Puruṣādasānta*[39] describes how the demon Puruṣāda defeated all the kings of India, until he was defeated by Sutasoma who was an incarnation of Bodhisattva. The earliest trace of this story is found in the Vedic literature, but the story has been rehandled in the post-Vedic period by different communities, including the Jains and the Buddhists for sectarian purposes. The writer of this work was Mpu Tantular, who may also be credited with the authorship of the *Arjunavijaya*. Both these texts mention the name of Raṇamaṅgala, son of Soṭor, who appears to be a great patron of the poet.[40] It appears therefore that these works were composed during the reign of king Hayam Vuruk. Another well-known Old-Javanese poem is the Kṛṣṇāyaṇa.[41] It was composed during the reign of king Varṣaajaya, probably the same king who is called Jayavarṣa in an inscription dated 1104. In the sixty-third canto of this *kakavin*, it has been stated that its author Mpu Triguṇa stood in the same relation to king Varṣajaya as the court-poet Kaṇva to Airlangga.[42] The work describes how Rukminī, who was betrothed to Jarāsandha but loved Kṛṣṇa passionately, was carried off by the latter by worsting all his opponents. It seems to have been a popular work, as four scenes from this poem have been represented on the temple reliefs of Candi Jago.[43] Kṛṣṇa's fight with the demons, firstly with Kaṁsa and then with Kālayavana and his followers, have been narrated in the *Kālayavanāntaka*,[44] also known as Kṛṣṇavijaya. Here it has been narrated how Kaṁsa was killed by Kṛṣṇa, while Mucakuṇḍa disturbed in his hermitage by the intrusion of Kālayavana, scorched the hideous monster by the fire of his eyes. Towards the close of the work, the poet describes how Subhadrā eloped with Arjuna while the Andhakas and the Vṛṣṇis were making festivities on the Raivata-hill. Of other important works belonging to the epic-paurāṇic cycle, we may refer to the names of the *Rāmavijay*,[45] the *Bhomakāvya*,[46] *Sudamala*[47] and *Sri Tañjung*,[48] the *Arjuna Pralabda*[49] and the *Lubdhaka*, also called *Śivarātrikalpa* (end of 15th century).[50] The *Rāmavijaya* is an Old-Javanese

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[36] Juynboll, *Supplement* I, 235 ; Brandes, *Beschrijving Java. Bal., Sas. HSS. II.* 71-73.

[37] Ed. Poerbatjaraka. Biblio. Jav. no. 3 ; Rassers, *De Pandji Roman : Panji, the Culture Hero*. Summary in H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 307 ff ; Pigeaud, *Literature of Java I*, p. 22.

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[38] H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 312-13.

[39] Ed. H. B. Sarkar, *R. C. Majumdar Felicitatian Volume* (1970), 179 ff ; *Indian Influences*, 317 ff ; Zoetmulder, *op. cit.*, p. 329. Text with Balinese and Indonesian translation by I Gusti Bagus Sugriva.

[40] Krom in *TBG*, 57. 520. The poet says, "Śrī Raṇamaṇgala, the king's nephew, has ever been benevolent to him. May he bestow his blessings on this work !" (Lines 1-4). Vide Zoetmulder, *op cit.*, pp. 325-41.

[41] Juynboll, *Supplement I*, 156 ; Zoetmulder, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

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42. Krom, *op cit*, 515 ff and *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 285.
43. Brandes, *Tiandi Djago*, 77.
44. Juynboll, *Supplement I*, 154-55.
45. *Ibid*, 159-60 ; Van der Tuuk in *KBNW I*, 500, 782.
46. Ed. Teeuw. 1946 ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 326 ff ; Zoetmulder, *op. cit.*, p. 313.
47. Van der Tuuk in *JRAS* n.s.. xiii, 55 ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit*, 335-36 ; Juynboll, *op. cit*, 269.
48. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, 25 ; *JRAS*, *op. cit.*. and H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*. 336.
49. Juynboll, *op. cit*, 221-22 ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 336.
50. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, 157 ; Van der Tuuk, *KBNW III*, 807 ; Brandes, *Beschrijving der Jav. Bal. Sas. HSS van dr. Van der Tuuk, II.* 126-129 ; Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan*, p. 25 and p. 360.

poem in 63 cantos, describing the fight between Jamadagni and Aṅgaraparṇa over the maiden Indra Renuka, while Mpu Bradah describes the fight between Kṛṣṇa and Bhauma or Narakāsura in the poem *Bhomakāvya* in 181 cantos. The father of Narakāsura was Viṣṇu and the mother was Pṛthivī.[1] As Pṛthivī constantly reinvigorated Narakāsura, Viṣṇu, in his incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, killed him by lifting him from Pṛthivī, i.e. Earth. The work has a Malay recension under the name of *Hikayat Sang Samba*, which however differs from the Old-Javanese recension on many points. Two poems of the name of *Sudamala* and *Sri Tañjung*, of which the former may be regarded as an introduction to the latter, are also interesting from the viewpoint of Indian literature. The poem relates how Sahadeva delivered Durgā of her rākṣasa-form, the consequence of a curse by Śiva, who had convicted her of adultery with a young cowherd. Sahadeva thereafter became known under the name of Sudamala, which is the corrupted form of *Śuddha* (purified) *mala* (taint) i.e. one who has purified the taint. The *Sri Tañjung* is a continuation of the previous story, describing how Sri Tañjung, the daughter of Sahadeva, was stabbed by her husband on suspicion that she had committed adultery during his absence in Indra's heaven but her blood emitting delicious scent, he was convinced that the suspicion was unfounded. This story as well as the *Arjuna Pralabda* contained the names of heroes of Indian epic-paurāṇic literature, but the frame-work of the story is essentially indigenous. More related to Indian Sanskrit literature is the Old-Javanese poem *Lubdhaka*. The story tells us how, in a pitch-dark night, the hunter Lubdhaka had seated himself on the branch of a Vilva-tree out of extreme fear, but the weight of his body coupled with his fright brought down some Vilva-leaves on the Śiva-liṅga installed at the foot of the tree. This work of merit purchased for the hunter a berth in Śiva's paradise. The work was doubtless composed to extol the merits of liṅga-worship. The name of the poet Mpu Tanakung occurs in the 38th canto. The story occurs in the Sanskrit

Śivapurāṇa[51] and other texts of India. The poem *Pārthayajña* composed in 44 cantos, describes how Arjuna set out to win divine weapons from Śiva to win the war against the Kauravas in mvch the same way as in Bhāravi's *kirātārjunīya*, but the detailes vary.[51a] The epic poems of India have also left their impact on the Wayang-literature of S. E. Asia, particularly Indonesia. These plays are believed by some scholars to have originated from the rituals of the dead forefathers.[52] Semar and his two sons, namely Petruk and Nalagareng, who appear in the role of attendants of Indian epic heroes are supposed to have been heroes of the Javanese stage before the advent of the Indian heroes. From the nature of the case, no certainty can be reached on this point, but when we find the Wayang fully developed we find the Indian heroes holding the stage.

The question of the source from which these shadow-plays have been derived has also engaged the attention of scholars for over three quarters of a century, but there is as yet no consensus on the answer to this question. It seems however that there were proto-types of the shadow-plays in southern India long before these became popular in Java. It is true that the *termini technici* of the shadow-plays are not Indian, but the way in which foreign terms are speedily rendered into the native parlance is an indication that the terms might have been metamorphosed. It may be recalled that Nīlakaṇṭha. in his commentary on the word *rūpopajivana* occuring in the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 294 5) makes certain observations which indicate that the Javanese shadow-plays were the exact proto-type of that in India, because here we find the canvas as well as the leathern puppets.

The Wayang Purva stories are mainly derived from the

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[51] Jñānasamhitā, chap. 74. Vide also C. Hooykaas, *Āgama Tīrtha* (1964) pp. 194-99.

[51a] H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 274 ff ; Zoetmulder, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

[52] Hazeau, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Javaansché tooneel* (1897), 20-21.

Ādiparva of the *Mahābhārata*, the Rāma-cycle of stories, the Arjunasahasravāhu-cycle and the Pāṇḍava-cycle of stories.[53] Besides the Indian epic cycle, the Javanese shadow-plays also drew their repertoire from the Damar Vulan cycle, the Pañji-cycle and the Amir Hamza cycle. The antiquity of the Wayang shows can not be exactly determined, but there is no doubt that these were quite popular in the beginning of the 11th century, because the *Arjunavivāha*,[54] a work of known date, refers to it. The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Yogīśvara,[55] the *Sumanasāntaka*,[56] the *Vṛttasañcaya*[57] the *Bhāratayuddha*,[58] etc., have also referred to it.

In this show, the shadow of the leather-made puppets, of fantastic sizes and designs, are projected on a canvas, the *dalang* or puppet-master-cum-stage priest speaks in the role of the persons the shadows and the puppets represent, modulating his voice according to needs. At present, the arrangement of seats is that men occupy seats by the side of the *dalang*, for which reason they see both the pupppets and the shadows they cast. Women, on the other hand, sit opposite the canvas, and accordingly they see only the shadows. In Bali, Lombok and West Java, men and women now sit together before the canvas.[59] Recently Dr. C. Hooykaas has brought out an excellant collection of materials for the study of shadow theatre in Bali under the title *Kāma and Kāla* (1973) in which details of the stage-craft, including the use of mantras preparatory to the performance of the play, some lakon's, etc., have been discussed.[60]

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[53] There is a vast literature on the shadow-plays of Java. For a detailed bibliography of the more important works on Javanese wayang and lakon literature, vide Uhlenbeck, *The Languages of Java and Madura*, 135 ff. For a brief survey, vide H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 287-.06.

[54] 5/9.

[55] 24/112.

[56] Canto 27.

[57] Str. 93.

[58] Str. 664.

[59] *Encyclo. Nederl. Oost-India, IV*, 2nd edn., 395-96.

[60] C. Hooykass has furnished in the Preface a bibliography of recent literary works bearing of the shadow-plays.

V. Babad or historical literature.

There are some legendary and genealogical works with a mythical bacground, of which the Aji Saka has been made familiar by Raffles.[1] It refers to the colonisation of of Java by people sent under the authority of the prince of Kling, obviously Kaliṅga, but the story is mixed up with heterogenous elements culled from Indian epic and paurāṇic literature. The reference to Gujerat, Mandang Kamulan, king Jayabhaya, etc., indicate that the story is a hodge-podge from different centuries. Dr. Hazeau has rightly observed[2] that the attempt to trace epic heroes as ancesters of kings in many babads or chronicles was not favoured in the Majapahit period ; this was an official attempt in in the post-Majapahitan period to lend a colour of respectability to the royal dynasties. The compilers who were entrusted with the job of preparing genealogies and lists of kings lacked chronological sense and have sometimes filled up gaps with fantastic things.[3]

There are also works which are partly historical romances. Such works go by the name of *kidungs*, such as *Kidung Sunda*,[4] *Rangga Lawe*[5]. *Kidung Harsa-Vijaya*[6], etc. There is another class of works of historical and genealogical-anecdotal nature called *Pamañcagahs*, or *babads*, which date generally from the post-Majapahitan period, though references to events of earlier times also occur. The *Usana Java* is a representative of this class of literature[7].

The most important historical records of Indonesia, after the inscriptions which we have discussed earlier in a different context are the *Nāgarakrtāgama*[8] and the *Pararaton*[9]

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[1] *History of Java II* (1830), 73 ff.

[2] Hazeau, *Oud en Nieuwe uit Javaansche Letterkunde*, (1921), 6.

[3] *Ibid*. 7.

[4] Ed C C Berg, *BKI* 83 (1927), 1-161.

[5] Ed. C. C. Berg, Biblio, Jav., no. 1 (1930).

[6] Ed. C. C. Berg, in *BKI* 88 (1931), 49-238.

[7] C C. Berg, *Inliding tot de studie van het Oud-Javaansch*, 159-62.

[8] Ed. Pigeaud, *Java in the fourteenth Century*, vol. I-V.

[9] Brandes-Krom, in *VBG* 62 (1920).

Of these, the former was composed in 1365 by Prapañca during the reign of king Hayam Vuruk. The text is written in various Sanskrit measures distributed over 98 cantos. It is without the least doubt "a unique work". It narrates facts and phenomena from the time of the king's predecessors, offers a description of the capital-city Majapahit, of the religious establishments of the empire, its dependencies, vivid description of a royal itinerary, etc. In cantos 63-69, it describes a great *śrāddha* ceremony and funeral feast, performed according to Hindu customs, of the illustrious queen usually called Rājapatnī. The poet also refers in canto 93 to Buddhāditya of Kāñcīpura Ṣaḍvihāra, who had composed a Sanskrit panegyric called *Bhogāvali* in honour of king Hayam Vuruk, while Mutali Sahṛdaya[10] is credited with the composition of another *praśasti* on the same king. The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* is thus a veritable mirror of contemporary times.

The *Pararaton* seems to have been composed between 1278 and 1478.[11] It is composed in prose, divided into 18 chapters. The earlier part of the text is legendary, describing Ken Angrok, the founder of the dynasty, as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The text describes how Ken Angrok removed Tunggal Ametung from the path of his ambition, married his widow Ken Ḍeḍes and gradually paved the way to the throne, thus being the first king of Singhasari. It is also a mine of information, but its data have to be carefully checked from inscriptions and other reliable data, as anecdotal elements have made inroads into the text.[12]

VI. Legends, romances, beast-fables and folk-tales

(a) Legends and romances

The legends and romances of Indonesia offer very interesting materials for study, particularly for the cultural anthropologists. The study of the subject is however fraught with difficulties due to parallelism in the realm of ideas as also race migrations in the ancient world. The latter phenomenon was one of the principal factors that made it possible for the stories to migrate from place to place and thus diffuse themselves over wide areas. Besides race-migrations, missionaries of religion, traders, literary men and others were also responsible in varying degrees in the propagation of such stories. While studying the folk-literature of Malaysia, we have seen how all these agencies particpated in the spread of Indian stories.

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[10] Kern thought that the term Mutali corresponds to mod. Mudaliyar of southern India, where it indicates a caste-surname.

[11] Brandes-Krom, *op. cit.*, 5.

[12] Cf. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 23.

The links that connect the legends and romances of the Indo-Indonesian world are, in my opinion, the following: (a) love-episodes at the bathing-place; (b) dream of the hero and the heroine of each other even before actual meeting; (c) Curse-motif; (d) talks of wise parrots, wily jackals etc., and (e) rākṣasas, goblins, old hags, etc. In romantic literature, fairies, celestial maiden, etc., also play a prominent role.[1] Some of these elements might have had a parallel growth, but in other cases it is possible to detect close borrowing both in regard to contents an the frame-work.

There are many stories in Sanskrit literature which present love-episodes at bathing places. The love of the Aśvin-twins for Sukanyā in the *Mahābhārata*,[2] of Kīrtisena for Śrutārtha and of Vijayadatta and Aśokadatta for the daughters of hermits bathing in the Ganges, all these latter exchanges occurring in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*,[3] are representatives of legions of such stories scattered in Sanskrit and non-Sanskritic literature of India. The same features are also present in large measure in the romantic literature

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VI.

(a)

[1] Lal Bihari De, *Folk Tales of Bengal*.

[2] Book III, 122-125; cf. also *Devībhāgavatam*, 7/4.

[3] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Tawney's translation (1880), I, 218-19.

of Indonesia. It may be recalled that in the Middle-Javanese poem *Durma*,[4] the clothings of the nymph Ken Sulasih were concealed by Rājapāla, who later on confessed his love to the celestial maiden. The story would remind one of the role of Kṛṣṇa in his similar mischievous activities by the side of the Kālindī-river. Similar is the tenor of the poem *Raden Saputra* or *Ratna Manik*, which was very popular in Bali, Madura as well as East Java, as we come across several recensions from these places.[5] The hero of the poem is Raden Saputra, who fought against supernatural beings and being tired fell asleep, only to see the beautiful form of Devi Ratna Manik blooming in his vision. The latter was also, in her turn, dreaming of the young hero. In the long run, the young hero saw her beloved bathing and the two were happily united in wedlock. The poem *Ajar Pikatan*,[6] which belongs to the Pañji-cycle of stories, also presents the title-hero in amour with the *Vidyādharī* Suprabhā, the celestial courtesan, who was taking her bath and the hero concealed her dress. This was returned by the hero only after she gave him a ring. The poem *Pañji Margasmara*[7] also belongs to the same category of story in so far as this particular trait is concerned. Here Candrasari, princes of Singa Sekar, fell in love with the title-hero of the poem when bathing and the love was returned.

The dream-motif has also exercised considerable influence on the Indo-Indonesian romantic literature. It may be recalled that in the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu,[8] prince Kandarpaketu dreamt of a maiden of eighteen in glamorous form, while the maiden-herself, the only daughter of king Śṛṅgāraśekhara of Pāṭaliputra and title-heroine of the work, also dreamt of a knight-errant, who was no other than Kandarpaketu and the two lovers were united by the confidant of the princess named Tamālikā. The episodes of Vatsarāja and Vāsavadattā,[9] of Ūṣā and her lover,[10] and those occurring in the Viddhaśālabhañjikā, Karpūramañjarī[11], besides others too numerous to be mentioned,[12] betray the paramount role of the same dream-motif. In Indonesia also, the dream-motif has gained considerable importance. The union in dream of the princess of Rum with Pañji,[13] of Devi Pandan Sari and Devi Manik Ara, with their lovers,[14] offers illustration of the same dream-motif. In the story called *Pañji Jaya Lengkara*,[15] Bambang Sutirtha has been represented as falling in love with Sekar Taji or Candrakiraṇa, princess of Kadiri, in dream. The dream-motif has also ensnared the demons and it has been said that the demon-king Mraja ditya kalamurka fell madly in love with Srikaṇḍi in dream.[16] In the romance of Jaka Prataka and the Chinese princess Cuviri, the same factor has controlled their love-adventures.[17] The dream-motif has also crash-gated into the Islamised, literature of Java as well as the post-Majapahitan literature of some other places of Indonesia.[18]

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[4] Juynboll, *Supplement I*, 273

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 70 ; *Ibid.*, II. ; *Ibid.*, III 130-31 : *BKI*, 71, 576 ; H. B. Sarkar,*op. cit.*, 342.

[6] Juynboll, *Supplement* I, 212-13 ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 342-43.

[7] Juynboll, *Supplement I*, 227 ; *Ibid.*, II, 111 ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 343.

[8] Ed. F. Hall, Biblio. Ind , 1859.

Among the romantic stories of Java and Bali, none are more popular than the Pañji romances. Pañji is the hero of these poems, which handle different phases of Pañji's life, such as his love for the heroine, called Sekar Taji, Candrakiraṇa, etc., the disappearance of his lady-love, her tranformation into man, fight of the hero with princes of different countries, the recovery of the heroine, etc.

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[9] Act V.

[10] *Kathāsaritsāgara, op. cit., I*, 276-77.

[11] In Act I of the former text and Act III of the latter.

[12] Vide H. B. Sarkar, *Indian Influences*, 343-46.

[13] *Ibid.*, 345-46.

[14] Vreede, *Cat. Jav. Mad.* HSS (1892), 156.

[15] *Ibid* , 159-60.

[16] *Ibid.*, 233.

[17] *Ibid.*, 196.

[18] H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit* , 345.

According to Dr. Van der Tuuk,[19] some of the Pañji-poems, such as the *Malat*, the *Vangvang Videha* and *Vaseng*, "resemble more the Malay tales belonging to the Pañji-cycles than the modern Javanese poems treating of the same subject." It is not necessary to study these stories in details for our limited purpose,[20] but it may be mentioned here that the impact of India and Indian literature on these stories is unmistakable. Not only do we find here kings of Golconda, Gujerat, Tanjore, Bengal, etc., but also features of Indian literature present themselves in these stories. In the *Cekelvanengpati* occurs the description of the *svayamvara* of Candrakiraṇa, but the successful contender must obtain a golden deer for the bride. This betrays clear influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, even as the reference to Arend Jantaju (Jaṭāyu) and Kelana Vira Nonoman (Hanumān) does. It appears that sometimes we find parallels which revert, not to their Sankrit originals, but to their later stream flowing from southern India to Java *via* Malay peninsula in a remarkably changed form.[21] Influences have also been projected from the *Mahābhārata*. In the text just referred to above, the ruler of Kling who wanted to get his son married with Candrakiraṇa has been described as a descendant of the famous Pāṇḍava-family.[22] The names of Astina (Hastinā), Pamade (Arjuna) occur in many romances testifying to the influence of the Sanskrit epic.. It is also noteworthy that in many places the princes and princesses of Koripan and Daha have been described as incarnations of Arjuna and Januvati (Jāmbavatī ?), Samba (Śāmba) and Subadra (Subhadrā) etc. In many writings, the names of Indra, Nārada, Kāma, Rati, *gandharvas*, *vidyādharīs*, etc., often crop up.

The Pañji-stories are known for centuries in Java, Bali, Sumatra, Lombok, Borneo/Kalimantan, Celebes, Cambodia,

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19. *JRAS*, n. s. XIII, 52.
20. Details may be studied in H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 348ff.
21. *BKI* 54 (1902), 546.
22. Rassers, *De Pandji Roman*, 108.

Thailand, etc. In the nscriptions of Java, the title Apañji occurs for the first time in a record from 902,[23] while in the form of Pañji, it occurs in the record from 907.[24] But the true character of Pañji remains as vague as ever. If we can hazard a conjecture, he seems to be the Sun riding on horse (his real name signifies a horse, Pañji being his surname), ever pursuing his beloved, the vanishing Moon.

(b) *The Tantri, beast-fables and folk-tales*

In the field of folk-lore, the most important text refers to the *Tantri Kāmandaka*,[1] which is principally based upon the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*. The *Pañcatantra* has at least 200 different versions in more than 50 languages and three-fourths of these languages are not Indian.[2] Indeed, the strongest obstacles, those of language, custom and religion have not been able to check its triumphal progress in different countries of the world. This very fact testifies to the great popularity which this work has enjoyed from ancient times till today in large part of the world. In Indonesia, the subject-matter of the *Pañcatantra* has been distributed over at least 12 different recensions, of which the oldest three are written in a sort of Old-Javanese, several in Balinese, two in New Javanese and two others in Madurese.[3] Some of the *Tantri*-recensions mention the name of one Vasubhāga who appears as a moraliser at the end of many stories.[4] A Canarese version also knows one Durgasimha Vasubhāga, but its connexion with the Old-Javanese recension is not yet clear.

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[23] H. B. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, no. 63.

[24] *Ibid*, no. 75.

(b)

[1] C. Hooykaas, *Tantri Kāmandaka*, Biblio. Jav., no. 2.

[2] Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, 451 ff.

[3] C. Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, 5.

[4] *Ibid*, 126, 130.

The opening section of the *Tantri Kāmandaka* is similar to that of the *Thousand and One Nights*, where emboxed stories are spun to form the ground-plan of the whole text. The work is divided into six cantos, called the Vivāhasarga, the Nandakaprakāraṇa, etc. One of the MSS ends with *iti caṇḍapiṅgala samāpta, tantri-carita tantra-vākya.* The text contains, among others, the famous stories of the bull Nandaka, Gajadruma and the two peacocks, the tortoise and two swans, the louse and the flea, heron and the crab, the fable of the apes and the weaver-birds, of the elephant and the siyung birds, the crow and the snake and the fable of the three fishes. Some of these stories have been immortalised in the panels of the Candi Jago,[5] Mendut, etc.

Allied to the *Tantri*-group of stories, there are also some stray folk-tales which betray strange similarity with those in India. A story of the *Hitopadeśa*[7] not described in the *Tantri* has found a place in the Kañcil group of stories. This refers to the story of the deer and the crow who lived on friendly terms in the Campakavatī forest of Magadha. It states how the jackal planned to get the deer killed, but his stratagem recoiled on him and he was killed. The story of the dealer of *legen* (a kind of juice), who was a day-dreamer,[8] has its parallel in the story of the Brāhmaṇa who broke his pots and pans in wild day-dreaming.[9] The story of the sage Gautama, who successively transformed his mouse to a cat, dog and tiger is paralleled by the story of the porcupine and the hill.[10] Similarly, the story of the blind vulture, cat and the birds, which occurs in the *Hitopadeśa*[11] finds good parallel in the story of the cat and the turtle-dove.[12] There are also some other tales in Indonesia which remind one of the Bānarendrajātaka (no. 57), the Kumbhīrajātaka (no. 224), the Śiśumārajātaka (no. 208), without their Buddhistic complexion. It is very likely that these stories spread to the Malayo-Indonesian world through Indian travellers or others during the palmy days of the Pāla and Śailendra-rule in Bengal-Bihar and Śrīvijaya respectively.

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[5] Vide Brandes, *Candi Djago*, 68-69, photo nos. 71, 72. etc.

[6] Krom, *Barabudur I* (1927), 177.

[7] 1/3.

[8] *BKI*, 7th series, VI.. 83.

[9] It occurs in both the *Hitopadeśa* and the *Pañcatantra*.

[10] *BKI*, *op. cit*, 88.

[11] 1/4.

Folk-elements are however present in a pronounced way in the Kañcil group of stories,[13] which deserves special attention, as it contains one story exactly paralleled by that of Bengal. The Bengal story describes how a jackal entered into a deadly feud with a crocodile. On one occasion, while the jackal was crossing a river, the crocodile pounced upon the jackal and was about to smash its leg, but the wily jackal told him that it was merely a stick and not his leg. As the crocodile lossened his grip, the jackal leaped ashore. Some time later on, when the crocodile was basking in the sun-shine on the bank of a river, the jackal had to pass by that way. To know if the crocodile was awake, the jackal said, "If the crocodile be dead, it will shake its tail and limbs, but if alive, it will remain motionless. The crocodile, in order to show that it was dead, began to bestir itself and the jackal escaped. In the Kañcil-group of stories, the part of the jackal was played by the peucang and the kidang, who are found in the same role in different places. The story may have migrated from Bengal, but it may have an Austric base.

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[12] *BKI*, *op. cit.* 62.

[13] H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 381.

CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSION

We thus come to the end of our survey of India's contribution to the cultural heritage of South-East Asia and Island-Asia in various fields of human activity, particularly in the domain of literature. The present is only a brief introduction to the subject, but even then it can not fail to impress on us how the process of Aryanisation, which started in a dim past in a remote corner of North-Western India, encompassed not only India but also the land-mass referred to above. One important aspect of this Aryanisation was that this was never imposed by force of arms, as China did in Vietnam, but it was a sort of cultural merchandise freely accepted by the inhabitants of this area. This freedom of choice conditioned the growth of their culture on indepedent lines, according to the genius of each nation, making this cultural heritage as varied as a mozaic work, differing from state to state, but never losing its basic identity. In this sense, it was an expansion of the Aryan culture, which gradually proceeded like wave, from West to East, and covered, down the centuries, the lands it came accross. But culture and civilisation are complex factors in the life of a nation. These can not be evolved by a time-bound schedule, nor without consideration of the receptive capacity of the native population living in this area.

Fortunately, everywhere this culture and civilisation from India was planted on fertile soil. Thus were established the outposts of Indian civilisation in South-East Asia and Island-Asia. Coedes has truly observed in one place, "First of all, the region gave the Indians the feeling of having been, in the noblest sense of the term, a great colonising people, in spite of all the ritual obstacles and racial prejudices that would seem to have prohibited them from playing such role. The expansive power of their culture and dynamism of their civilisation, of which the Indians seem never to have been completely conscious, manifested themselves in all the countries to which they emigrated.''

In this business, the Indian Brāhmaṇas served as culture-bearers par excellence and taboo on sea-travel was no obstacle for them. Early Chinese texts bearing on Malaya refer to hundreds of Brāhmaṇas in Malayan royal courts, while many others are found to be present for thc vahu-suvarṇaka-festival of king Mūlavarman of Borneo/Kalimantan. *Veda*-knowing priests are mentioned in the records of Kambuja for several centuries, while inscriptions from Java attest the same thing down to late medieval period. The present institutions of Bali are a living testimony to their high status in society. Among the South-East Asian countries, the Brāhmaṇas of Kambuja constituted, as per evidence available at present, the most powerful community and Indonesia came next in this regard.

These Indian Brāhmaṇas, through their sacred literature, above all the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, held aloft the high ideals of loyalty, truthfulness, morality, justice etc. To this general Hindu approach to life, the Buddhists added the gift of non-injury, which made the barbarian customs milder, the laws juster and did away with the barriers of caste. The abhorence of bloodshed even in war-times, as far as possible, is doubtless a legacy of Buddhism, be it of the Mahāyāna or Hīnayāna pattern, and it has attuned the people to this way of life. Besides, the dissemination of the knowledge of the people in the *Sūttapitaka* and the *Jātakas* in Buddhist lands of South-East Asia made the people more humane and responsive to the call of reason. The mildness of Islam in Java and the low percentage of criminal cases in the island of Bali may perhaps be attributed to the Hindu and Buddhist legacy from earlier times. Without Buddhism, the scene of iviolence in Burma and Indo-China would have been grmmer than what it has been. In the application of the

Indianized laws, rulers have usually followed precedents, but where there was scope for discretion, as in Thailand or Malaya, the kings followed the *rājadharma*, but these could be modified by later rulers.

The introduction of the Hindu *dharmaśāstras*, particularly the *Manusamhitā*, to Burma, Thailand. Campā, Kambuja and Indonesia laid the basis of an orderly life, and the ideals of the epic literature mentioned above were upheld by the injunctions of the *dharmaśāstras*, thus making the tribal people amenable to the jurisdiction of the God-king on the one hand and law administered by him on the other. These two institutions were upheld by the Brāhmaṇas as ministers, chaplains and judges, many of whom, both in Kambuja and Java, were highly qualified, as their accomplishments defined in contemporary inscriptions would attest. In Burma and Thailand also, the same thing seems to have happened, but only faint traces of them are now available.

The hierarchical administration in South-East Asia, of which meticulous details occur in the Chinese texts over Malaya for a certain period and in the inscriptions of Indonesia and Indo-China for several centuries, indicates that at least some aspects of such administration were fashioned by the early Indianized rulers of these places and they handed them down to later generations. In Indonesia at least, these inscriptional references are buttressed by the physicai existence of texts on statecraft meant for princes.

This influence of India was projected through other agencies also. The popular epic literature of India, which regaled the people through wayang shows in almost all the countries of South-East Asia, including Indonesia, as well as the *dharmaśāstras*, upheld the social, religious and administrative institutions. The stability of all these and other institutions was ensured through the art of writing which, again, came from India. The importance of this gift of writing can not be over-emphasised, as it laid down the foundation of writing in all countries of South-East

Asia except Malayasia where no indigenous system seems to have been development in the ancient period out of the Indian system of writing, but in this respect Indonesia has forged ahead. This has led to the growth of many written tracts, original or otherwise, and stimulated the study of many branches of Indian literature in this region. As the base of this Indianized literature was mainly Sanskrit and to a certain extent Pāli. grammar was widely studied with assiduity, particularly in Burma, Kambuja and Indonesia and contemporary inscriptions attest that persons of the highest calibre were accomplished scholars in this branch of learning. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini and the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali have found special mention and were studied in all the countries where Sanskrit learning was an essential ingredient of their literature. The *Kātantra* of Sarvavarman, the *Mugdhavodha* of Vopadeva and the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, not to speak of *kāśikas*, were studied in various places of this region. With the introduction of Buddhism in a big way in Burma, Thailand and Campā-Kambuja, Pāli grammar also made a debut in the scholarly circle of these places, but none could make any important contribution in this field, except Burma. Available texts and inscriptions indicate that Indian rhetoric and prosody were also studied extensively, at least in Burma and Indonesia.

The contribution of Indian grammar, particularly in the field of grammatical particles and in some places in the formation of compounds and euphonic combinations made some of the native languages richer. The vocabulary was considerably strengthened in all the countries of South-East Asia and Island-Asia by the intrusion of Sanskrit words, particularly in the field of abstract ideas, technical terms and many material objects.

The paurāṇic literature made also a tremendous impact on Campā, Kambuja and Indonesia, to judge by inscriptional references and existing monuments. Episodes from the *Purāṇas* are not only handled in classical Indonesian texts and referred to in the inscriptions of Indo-China, but have also been portrayed in the art and architecture of Java and Kambuja. Of the paurāṇic literature, only the *Brahmāṇḍapura* has been found in Java, but none else in any other place of this region, but that several others, if not all, were studied are confirmed by inscriptional references in Indo-China. Cosmology mostly studied in South-East Asia pertained to the Hindu school of thought, but Buddhist cosmology has left behind some literary legacy, particularly in Thailand

Indian and South-East Asian activities in various fields thus revolutionised the conceptions of the people inhabiting this portion of the earth and they adopted with adjustments, wherever necessary or possible, Indian ideas of kingship and statecraft, religion, her sciences and philosophical speculations, pattern of social life, the art of writing, literature, a large part of vocabulary, art and architecture, law, calendar, cosmology, mythology, folk-tales, etc. The foregoing pages must have given at least some idea regarding what the ancient Indians did in all these fields of human activities. In fact, in the 12th century A.D., when Islam was not yet on the scene, one could hardly think of this part of the world without the contribution of India in the spheres referred to above. If it is possible to think, in an abstract way, of South-east Asia and Island-Asia without any ingredient of Indian culture and civilisation in the 12th century A.D., it would indeed he a poor one. This is not to deny the indigenous culture and genius which adopted, wherever possible, India's contribution to suit their divergent needs, and these latter phenomena are also reflected in varying degrees in almost all their activities.

The live contact of India with her cultural "colonies" in Further India was eventually snapped for revolutionary political change in the mother-country. On account of the establishment of Muslim authority in India, and increasingly greater insistence on the application of taboo on sea-voyages, the extensive area over which Indian culture prevailed could not be sustained by the scholarly man-power of India for political and religious/ritualistic reasons stated above. The Indianized states of South-East Asia and the group of islands lying to its South had therefore to fend for themselves and proceed out of their own volition. The Indianized states did not however forsake their cultural heritage, except where Islam penetrated, but even in the latter case, many vestiges from ancient times still survive.

LIST OF KINGS REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT

(On the basis of only known dates)

FUNAN AND KAMBUJA

A. Funan

1.	Kauṇḍinya I	1st century A.D.
2.	Chan-t'an (Candan)	357.
3.	Kauṇḍinya II	1st half of fifth century.
4.	Shih-li-t'o-pa-ma (Śrī Indravarman or Śreṣṭhavarman)	5th century.
5.	Jayavarman	c. 475-514.
6.	Rudravarman	514-c 539.

B. Kambuja

1.	Bhavavarman I	598.
2.	Mahendravarman (Citrasena)	c. 600-615.
3.	Īśānavarman I	c. 616—c. 635.
4.	Bhavavarman II	639.
5.	Jayavarman I	c. 657—c. 690
6.	Jayavarman II	802-50.
7.	Indravarman I	877-889.
8.	Yaśovarman I	889-c. 900.
9.	Harṣavarman I	900-922.
10.	Īśānavarman II	925.
11.	Harṣavarman II	943.
12.	Rājendravarman	944-68.
13.	Jayavarman V	968-1001.
14.	Sūryavarman I	c. 1002—1050.
15.	Udayādityavarman II	1050-65.
16.	Harṣavarman III	1066-80.
17.	Jayavarman VI	1080-1107.
18.	Dharaṇīndravarman I	1107-1112.
19.	Sūryavarman II	1113-c. 1143 or 1150
20.	Dharaṇīndravarman II	c. 1145 or 1150.
21.	Yaśovarman II	1165.
22.	Jayavarman VII	1181-c. 1218.
23.	Jayavarman VIII	End of the 13th century.

24.	Śrīndravarman	1295-1307.
25.	Śrīndrajayavarman	1307-1327.

CAMPĀ

1.	K'iu-lien (or Ci'u-lien)	2nd century A D. (close).
2.	Fan Fo	c. 351-77.
3.	Fan Hu-ta	380-413.
4.	Bhadravarman I	3rd quarter of 4th century.
5.	Rudravarman I	c. 530-c. 572.
6.	Śambhuvarman	c. 695-d. 629.
7.	Kandarpadharma	630/31.
8.	Prabhāsadharma	c. 640-645.
9.	Prakāśadharma (Vikrāntavarman I)	653-c. 686.
10.	Rudravarman II	749.
11.	Pṛthivīndravarman	Before 774.
12.	Satyavarman	c. 774-c. 784.
13.	Indravarman	787-801.
14.	Harivarman I	c. 802-c. 813
15.	Vikrāntavarman III	c. 820-c.854.
16.	Indravarman II	875-c. 898.
17.	Jaya Siṁhavarman I	c. 898-c. 903.
18.	Śrī Jayaśaktivarman	Beginning of 10th century.
19.	Bhadravarman II	c. 908-10.
20.	Indravarman III	918-50.
21.	Jaya Indravarman I	c. 960-c.965.
22.	Harivarman II	989-c. 999.
23.	Jaya Siṁhavarman II	1042-1044.
24.	Rudravarman III	1061-74.
25.	Harivarman IV	1074-1081.
26.	Jaya Indravarmadeva II	1086-1113
27.	Harivarman V	1113-39.
28.	Jaya Indravarman III	1139-1145
9.	Rudravarman IV	1145.
30.	Jaya Harivarman I	1147-c. 1166.
31.	Jaya Indravarman IV	1167-90.
32.	Jayaparameśvaravarman II	1226-c. 1252.

33.	Śrī Jayasiṁhavarman (Indravarman V)	1266.
34.	Jaya Simhavarman III	c. 1285-1307.
35.	Che Chih	1307-1313.
36.	Che Nang	1318.
37.	Che A-Nan	1318-1342.
38.	Tra-Hoa Bo-De	1342.
39.	Che Bong Nga	c. 1360-1390.
40.	La Khai	1390-1400.
41.	Vīrabhadravarman (Indravarman VI)	1441.

BURMA

1.	Sūryavikrama, Harivikrama, Sīhavikrama Prabhuvarman Jayacandravarman	On different dates between later part of the seventh and the early part of the eighth century.
2.	Aniruddha (var Anoratha, Aniruddha)	1044-77.
3.	Kyanzyttha	1086-c. 1112.
4.	Narapatisithu	1173-1270.
5.	Kyozwa (Kyacvā, Kyocvā, Kya-swa)	1235.
6.	Wagaru	1281-1313.
7.	Kitti Sihasūra	1312.
8.	Sativa (Thade-minbya)	1364.
9.	Narapati	1442-68.
10.	Alompra (Alaung-payā)	1752-1760.
11.	Hsin-hpyu-shin	1763-1776.
12.	Bodopayā	1782-1819.
13.	Min-don-min	1852-77.

THAILAND

1.	Indrāditya (Indrapatīndrāditya)	c. 1220.

2.	Rāma Khaemheng	c. 1283-c. 1299
3.	Lu Thai	1345.
4.	Rāmādhipati I	1350-1367.
5.	Tilokarāja	1442-87.
6.	Parmatrailokanātha	1491-1529.
7.	P'ra Muong Keo	1495-1525.
8.	Narayana	1657-88.
9.	Boromakos	1732-58.
10.	Rāma I	1782-1809.
11.	Rāma II	1809-1824.
12.	Rāma III	1824-51.
13.	Rāma VI	1910-25.

MALAYSIA AND INDONESIA

1.	Tiao Pien	132.
2.	Mūlavarman	Beginning of 5th century.
3.	Pūrṇavarman	First half of 5th century.
4.	P'a-ch'ieh-ta-lo (Bhagadatta)	515.
5.	Sañjaya	732.
6.	Bālaputradeva	c. 850.
7.	Dharmavaṁśa teguh Anantavikrama	991-1007.
8.	Siṇḍok	929-948.
9.	Airlaṅga	1019-42.
10.	Varṣajaya or Jayavarṣa	1104.
11.	Kāmeśvara I	1115-30.
12.	Jayabhaya	1157.
13.	Kāmeśvara II	c. 1185.
14.	Rājasa	1222-27.
15.	Kṛtanagara	1268-1292.
16.	Kṛtarājasa	1292-1309.
17.	Rājasanagara (Hayam Vuruk)	1350-1389.
18.	Raṇamaṅgala (prince)	After 1365.
19.	Ādityavarman	c. 1347-1375.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA : Artibus Asiae.

ABIA : Annual Bibliography on Indian Archaeology.

ARASB : Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Burma.

BCAI : Bulletin de la Commission Archaeologique de l'Indo-chine.

BEF O : Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient.

BKI : Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie. Published by the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie.

EA : Etudes Asiatiques, published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Ecole Fransaise d'Extreme Orient, 2 vols. Edited by G. van Oest.

Ep. Ind. : Epigraphia Indica.

IA : Indian Antiquary.

IAL : Indian Art and Letters. Later on designated : Art and Letters, the Journal of the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society.

IC : George Coedes, Inscriptions du Cambodge, Vols. I-III.

IHQ : Indian Historical Quarterly.

IK : R. C. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Kambuja.

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JASBL : Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters (1935 onwards).

JA : Journal Asiatique.

JASB : Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JBRS : Journal of the Burma Research Society.

JFMSM : Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums.

JGIS : Journal of the Greater India Society.

JIH : Journal of Indian History.

JISOA : Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.

JMBRAS : Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JRAS : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

JSBRAS : Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JSS : Journal of the Siam Society.

KBNW : Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, By H.N. Van der Tuuk.

KO : Kawi Oorkonden in facsimile met Inleiding en transcriptie, by A. B. Cohen Stuart, 1875.

MKNAW : Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsch Akademie van Wetenschappen.

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OJO : Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden, 1913 (Ed. Brandes-Krom).

OLZ : Oost-Asiatische Literatuur Zeitung.

OV : Oudheindkundige Verslag.

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TBG : Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van het Bataviaasch Genootschap Van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

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VKAWA : Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeeling Letterkunde.

VKBG : Verhandelingen van het Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

VMKAW : Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde.

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